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ART. V.—*Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni.* By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

[Presented 19th March, 1858.]

IN the volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for the year 1848, is to be found a paper descriptive of such coins of the Sultáns of Ghazni as chanced to form part of the varied numismatic accumulations of Mr. Masson, gleaned, under his personal superintendence, chiefly to the northward of the metropolitan province from which the dynasty takes its name.

Since the date of the publication in question, political events, in placing our Government in possession of the entire Indian section of the dominions of the successors of Mahmúd, have necessarily facilitated the acquisition of specimens of their local currencies by the civil and military officers stationed in those parts. The opportunities thus offered, though but moderately taken advantage of,<sup>1</sup> have been the means of bringing to light several novel and interesting accessions to the general series, a record of which may be appropriately inserted in this Journal, in supplementary continuation of the previous memoir.

In addition to a description of the more prominent recent acquisitions of Mr. E. C. Bayley, Col. T. Bush, and others, there will be found embodied in the following pages full references to the Ghaznaví coins of the late Col. Stacy, a notice of which appeared in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal for 1852<sup>2</sup>.

The Roman numerals, prefixed to the ordinary consecutive numbers in the subjoined catalogue, serve to indicate the class, in the original series, to which each new specimen belongs. Where the words "to follow or precede" are added, it is to be understood that the coins so marked are novelties, of which extant examples were unavailable at the period of the publication of the earlier memoir. At the conclusion of the Ghaznaví *proper* suite, a list of the various dates and places of mintage referred to in either paper has been incorporated in a tabular form; and, following out the plan adopted on the previous occasion, a brief appendix has been devoted to the illustration of such pieces of the Ghori and other succeeding dynasties as circumstances have intermediately placed within reach.

<sup>1</sup> If Col. J. Abbott's collection—formed on the eminently favourable soil of the Hazárah country—prove as rich in Ghaznaví treasures as the choicest specimens of his Bactrian series may lead us to expect, the numismatic history of the house of Subuktágín will be greatly enriched.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxi. p. 115.

For facility of reference a reduced Table is prefixed, exhibiting a list of the Ghaznavi Sultáns, associated with their early Sámání Suzerains, and the contemporary Khalífs of Baghdád, to whom they throughout professed spiritual allegiance.

*The Ghaznavi Dynasty, together with their Contemporary Suzerains, Spiritual and Temporal.*

Khalífs of Baghdád.	Dates of Accession.			Kings of Ghazni.	Sámání Suzerains.		
	A.H.	A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
Al Mu'ti' billah .... abdicates, Zí'l Ka'dah, 363	334				331	943	Núh bin Nasr
					343	954	A'bd-ul-Malik bin Núh
					350	961	Mansúr bin Núh
Al Tá'f billah .... deposed by Bahú al dowlah (Sha- bán), 381	363	351 359	962 969	Alptagín Ishak			
		366	976	Subuktagín	365	976	Núh bin Mansúr <sup>1</sup>
Al Kádír billah .... died, Zí'l Hajah, 422	381						
		387 388	997 998	Isma'íl Mahmúd	387	997	Mansúr bin Núh
		421 421	1030 1030	Muhammad Masa'úd	389	999	A'bd-ul-Malik bin Núh. (AilekKhán enters Bukhárá on the 10th of Zí'l Ka'dah, A.H. 389, end of the dynasty.)
Al Ká'ím beamril- lah, died 13 Sha- bán, 467	422	432	1040	Muhammad			
		432	1041	Módúd			
		440	1048	Masa'úd II.			
		440	1048	A'bdul Hasan A'H Bahú al dowlah			
		440	1048	A'bd-ul-Rashíd			
		444 444	1052 1052	Toghral Farukhzád			
		461	1059	Ibrahim			
Al Muktafi beam- illah, died 15 Muharrim, 487	467						
Al Mustazhar bil- lah, died, 16 Rabí' al Akhir, 512	487						
		492	1099	Masa'úd III.			
		508	1114	Shírzád Kamúl al dowlah			
		509	1115	Arslán			
Al Mustarshid bil- lah, killed, 17 Zí'l Ka'dah, 529	512	512	1118	Bahrám Sháh			
Al Ráshid billah	529						
Al Muktafi beam- erillah, inaug., 12 Zí'l Hajah, 530	530						
Al Mustanjid bil- lah	555	547	1152	Khusrú Sháh			
		555	1160	Khusrú Malik, (Final surrender at Lábór, A.H. 583)			

<sup>1</sup> By some authorities his accession is placed in the month of Rajab, A.H. 366.

The earliest novelty, among the more recent acquisitions, is highly interesting in an historical point of view, as it illustrates an introductory phase of the Ghaznavi independence, regarding which the records of the house of Subuktāgin are usually defective; and though it may be difficult to reconcile the circumstances under which the piece purports to have been issued, with the imperfect materials preserved by written testimony, yet the numismatic appearance of the name of the chieftain Bulkātagin, in accord with the circumstantial mention of his elevation to power by so trustworthy an authority as Abūl Fazl Baihaki<sup>1</sup>, gives weight to a passage previously quoted, and for which I had already claimed mature attention<sup>2</sup>, without at the moment being fully aware of the merits and singularly favourable opportunities of the writer from whose more voluminous works it had been abstracted and incorporated into the pages of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Tārīkh A'l Subektēgin, Historia magna Ghaznavidarum pluribus voluminibus comprehensa, Auctore Abu'l Fadhl Al Beihacki."—Flügel's *Hājī Khalfā*. See also notices of this author in my earlier paper, *J.R.A.S.*, ix. pp. 277, 331, 376.

<sup>2</sup> In quoting the Persian text of the original passage in 1847, I remarked:—"The subjoined account of the succession to Alptāgin's chieftainship is given entire from the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, as offering a version of the question to which it refers widely differing from that to be found in the writings of the more generally known authors; and although there are many objections to the unqualified admission of its verity, yet the *Nāsiri*'s undoubted antiquity and usual accuracy entitle the statement to full consideration." (*J.R.A.S.*, ix. 303.) At the period when this extract was made, I was ignorant of the remarkable facilities and advantages enjoyed by the author from whose works the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* reproduces the statements embodied in the text. We still only know Abūl Fazl Baihaki by one of his many works; the "*Tārīkh-i-Masa'ūdi*," being the only one of the series which seems to have been preserved to us; but taking that production as a specimen of the whole, we have indeed reason to regret the loss of the remainder. Oriental students will be glad to learn, that the Persian text of the "*Masa'ūdi*" is already prepared for publication, and is expected to appear under the editorship of Mr. W. H. Morley.

<sup>3</sup> The *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* was completed in A.H. 658. The author, Minhāj us Surāj Juzānī, composed his work at Delhi, dedicating it to Nāsir ud dīn Mahmūd, the reigning Emperor of Hindustān. See *ante*, Journal, ix. pp. 377, 304. Hājī Khalfā (vol. iv. p. 163) has the following note regarding this work:—

۷۹۲۸ طبقات الناصري فارسي لمنهاج بي معروف بسراج

البحر جانی المتوفى سنة الف في غزوات ناصر الدين محمود

شاد بن ايلتمش الدهلوی

"No. 7928. *Tabakāt el Nāsiri* classes *Nasiricae* Auctore Minhāj Jorjāni filio ejus, qui vulgo Sirāj dictus est anno—mortuo; Historia Persica, quam de expeditionibus bellicis Nasir ud dīni Mahmud Shah ben *Iletmish* Dehlewī composuit." See also Stewart's Catalogue, No. xi. p. 7; and Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the Roy. As. Soc. MSS., No. xii. p. 21,

The Persian text of the passage in question having been inserted in a former number of this Journal, I content myself, on the present occasion, with appending an English translation of the same, adding however the introductory portion of the chapter, explanatory of the primary source of the information secondarily preserved in the work of Minháj us Siráj :—

“ Imám Abú Fazl Baihakí relates, that Nasr Hájí, a merchant in the time of A'bd-ul-Malik bin Núh Sámání, bought Subuktagín and brought him to Bukhárá. Alptagín, who was then Amír Hájib, observing the signs of intelligence and manliness on his forehead, purchased him. He accompanied Alptagín to Tokháristán and followed him, when he was promoted to the government of Khorásán. Alptagín, in the course of events, proceeded against Ghazní, conquered Zábulistán, and took Ghazní from (the) *Anúk*<sup>1</sup>. Dying eight years afterwards<sup>2</sup>, his son Ishák succeeded him ; and in a battle with (the) *Anúk*, was defeated, when he proceeded to Bukhárá, and, having obtained assistance from the Amír Mansúr bin Núh, recovered Ghazní. And after one year, Ishák died. They then raised to the throne Bulkátagín, who was the chief of the Turks ; he was a just man, and eminent for his piety among the warriors of the world ; he reigned two<sup>3</sup> years and then died ; Amír Subuktagín was in his service, and, after Bulkátagín, Amír Piri became king ; he was a very ill-conditioned man. A party at Ghazní entered into communication with Abú A'li *Anúk*, and sought assistance from him. Abú A'li *Anúk* brought, as an ally, the son of the King of Kábul ; and when they reached the confines of Charkh<sup>4</sup>, Amír Subuktagín, with five hundred Turks, fell

<sup>1</sup> The word is variously written in the different MSS. as *لويك* and *انوك*. The former is adopted in the East India House MS., the Paris copy, and that of Gen. Brigg's now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. I propose, with but slight hesitation, a rectification of the orthography to *لنېك* or “Lumghán,” the Lampagæ of classical writers ; the *لنېكا* (وهولمان) of the Unpublished MS. ; Kánún-i-Mas'údí of Albírání ; and the *ادل لنېك اعني لمعان* of the same author as quoted by M. Reinaud ; *Fragments Arabes et Persans* ; Paris, 1845, p. 131. See also Erskine's *Memoirs of Báber*, p. 143 ; and M. St. Martin (p. 208), *Mémoire Analytique sur la Carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde*, appended to M. Stan. Julien's *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*. Hiouen-Thsang, (Paris, 1850).

<sup>2</sup> “ Eight years” is the time given in all the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Two copies, out of the three I have at this moment the opportunity of consulting, give *دو* *ten* instead of *دو* *two* ; the former, however, is a palpable error.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this place varies in the different MSS., appearing in the several copies as *جرج* and *جرخ* Col. W. Anderson, C.B., of the Bengal

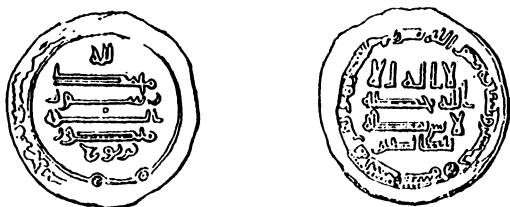
upon them, and routed them, killing a vast number and making many prisoners; he took also two elephants, which he brought to Ghazni. After achieving so great a victory, the entire population being disgusted with the iniquity of Pirí, with one consent raised Subuktágin to the throne, on the 7th of Sha'bán, in the year 366."

I now proceed to cite the new piece, which we owe, together with other important medals of this series<sup>1</sup>, to Russian enterprise<sup>2</sup>; and it is further to the credit of the Government of that country, that these occasional discoveries continue to receive explanation and illustration from so sound an Oriental scholar as Prof. Dorn, the worthy successor of M. Fréhn, whose "*Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*"<sup>3</sup> to this day forms our most valued text-book in cognate studies.

The following is a translation of M. Dorn's remarks on the coin, together with a fac-simile of the woodcut engraved in the *St. Petersburg Journal* :—

*No. 1 of this Supplement.*

"No 4<sup>4</sup>. Mansúr bin Núh. Ghazna. A.H. 359 = A.D. 969.  
One of the most valuable of the inedited coins.



"Obverse.—Under the symbol : *بلكأكین* (بلكاتكين) 'Balká,' or 'Bulká-Tagín.'

Artillery, who has served in Afghánistán, and given much attention to the geography of the country, identifies the locality with "Cherklh," which is mentioned in the *Ayfn-i-Akbari* as "one of the dependencies of Toomán Lahooker (Lohgar)." *AA. ii. p. 181.* Báber had previously furnished this indication, in his *Memoirs*, to the effect, "Lohuger (Lohgar) is another Tumán, the largest town of which is Cherklh. . . . Cherklh has numerous gardens, but there are none in any of the other villages of Lohuger. The men are *Aughán-Shát*.—*Erskine's Memoirs*, p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> See important coin of Alptágin, *J. R. A. S.*, ix. p. 295, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The descriptive article is headed, "*Vierzehn unedirte Samaniden-Münzen* ; von P. Saweljew (Lu le 10 Mars, 1854)."

<sup>3</sup> *St. Petersburg, 1826.* Prof. Dorn has lately published the first portion of M. Fréhn's *Posthumous Works* (*St. Petersburg 1855*).

<sup>4</sup> *Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, tome xii. (A.D. 1855) p. 90.

"*Margin.* — ثلثمائة و خمسين و تسع سنة عربة The name of the mint عربة can stand for nothing but 'Ghazna.' This city appears here for the first time in the Numismatic Series of the Sámánis. It is known that at the accession of the young Mansúr [350 A.H.], Alptagín rose against him in Ghazna, defeated his army twice, and declared himself independent. History mentions only the conquest of Alptagín, but is silent in regard to the rule of the Sámánis in Ghazna.

"We see from our coin that Balká, or Bulká-Tagín, in the year A.H. 359 was chief of the Sámání party in this city. His name appears already on the Balkh coins of A.H. 324 (v. Recensio, p. 569, No. 229, *d.*)<sup>1</sup>. Subsequently he passed over to Alptegín's cause, became Chamberlain under Abú Ishák, and is said to have ascended the throne after the death of the latter in A.H. 365. (Fræhn, Bull. Hist. Philol., iv. 15<sup>2</sup>.)

"*Reverse.*—On the reverse the name of the Khalíf is wanting :

|| لله || محمد || رسول || الله || منصور || بن نوح ||

"(Dug up by me in the year 1853 at the village of Kabanskoi, in Wladimir.)"

Having exhibited the data, both historical and numismatic, bearing upon the chieftainship of Bulkatagín, I have now to advert to the difficulties which present themselves to any very conclusive reconciliation of the indications derived from these diverse sources. The

<sup>1</sup> The following is Prof. Fræhn's description of this coin :—

"No. 229, d. Rariss. Notabilissim. cus.

ببلخ سنة اربع (و) عشرين و ثلثمائة

in Balch a. cod. 324

A. ii. p.p. نوح بن نصر || يوسف Nuh fil. Nasri || Jusuf.

A. ii. p.p. نصر بن احمد || الرازي بالله Er. Raszi-billah || Nasr. filius Ahmedis.

Inf. est nomen, quod الملكلىكى . . . tegin referro videtur."—Recensio, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to discover the authority for this statement under the reference indicated ; but, assuming that Fræhn's Neue Sammlung (Leipzig, 1844, p. 124) contains the full reprint of his original paper, I must conclude that the date of A.H. 365, here given, is an interpolation of M. Dorn's, for which Prof. Fræhn is not responsible. The latter author does not specify from what source he derives his historical information, hence further means of comparison in this direction are denied me.

abstract of Baihaki's narrative, given by Minháj us Siráj, will be seen to be meagre and unsatisfactory in the extreme; and although we gain references to events, of which we had previously no knowledge, yet they are so imperfectly described, that we are but little advanced in exact history by the information thus contributed. The extreme period to be filled in with the details furnished by our author, may be taken broadly as the fifteen or sixteen years, from 350-1 to 366 A.H., often erroneously assigned by later compilers<sup>1</sup> as the duration of the sway of Alptagín. The first point towards the arrangement of the dates of accession of the succeeding potentates that it is necessary to determine is, from what epoch Minháj us Siráj calculates the eight years' reign of the chieftain in question. It can scarcely have been designed that any portion of the period of his submissive government of Khorásán should be included in this term; nor does it seem needful to infer that his quasi-independence should date only from the moment of his gaining possession of the city of Ghazni<sup>2</sup>, which however celebrated in after times as the capital of a powerful empire, could have been of little note or importance on its first capture from the local princes. In the absence of anything positive on this head, it may be assumed that the early portion of the year A.H. 351<sup>3</sup>, witnessed the

<sup>1</sup> See the various authorities quoted at the foot of p. 298, Jour. R. A. S. vol. ix. Also Mirkhond, *Histoire des Samanides*, edited and translated by M. Defrémery, Paris, 1845, pp. 154, 156, and note, p. 263; likewise Price, quoting the *Khalásat al Akhbâr*, ii. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Haukal, who had every means of knowing the facts connected with the early conquest of this city, would seem to imply that it was not occupied as a capital by the Muhammadans till 355 A.H. See St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, ii. 21. Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 244; and J.R.A.S., ix. p. 206, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah definitively places this revolt in A.H. 351; the expressions made use of are—

در سنه احدى وخمسين وثلثمائة علم طغیان افرشته

See p. ۳۱, Bombay Lithographed Edition.

The *Tárikh-i-Guzidáh* gives "six years" as the interval that elapsed between Mansúr's accession and Alptagín's revolt; if we correct the years into months we obtain a more probable period. (See MSS. *Tárikh-i-Guzidáh*, E. I. House Library, Nos. 50 and 649.)

[Since the above note has been set up in type, I have had an opportunity of examining Colonel Sir H. C. Rawlinson's MS. copy of the *كامل التواریخ* of Ibn Athfr. Under the miscellaneous heading of the year 351, appears, seemingly, the first mention of Alptagín, as reproduced in the subjoined passage, whence it will be seen that Mansúr did not call upon Alptagín to appear at Bukhárá till the third month of A.H. 351. It is a matter of regret to me that



estrangement of Alptagín from the newly-elevated successor of A'bd-ul-Malik<sup>1</sup>. Under such a scheme of computation, Alptagín's death may be placed early in A.H. 359, or in the very year, a record of which appears on the coin of Bulkátagín<sup>2</sup>. Our text, in the form in which it at present exists, certainly does not support the conclusion that Bulkátagín arrived at regal power so speedily as this; but circumstances stated by other authors—though with far less clearness than might be desired,—seem to suggest a possible solution of the difficulty. Abú Ishak's own position at the moment of the death of his father, is not well ascertained; if, as is stated by some writers, he was then employed in Khorásán<sup>3</sup>, Bulkátagín may well have taken temporary

Colonel Rawlinson's copy of this rare work ends with the annals of A.H. 363, while the published edition of Thornberg (1851-53) commences only with the year 527, (being continued on to A.H. 628).

في هذه السنة [أحدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة] في ربيع الاول ارسل  
الامير منصور بن نوح صاحب خراسان و مارا الذير الى بعض قواده  
الكبار و اسمه القتكين ليستدعيه و امتنع فانفذ اليه جيشا فلقتيم  
القتكين فيزهمهم و اسر وجوه القواد منهم و فيهم خال منصور

Hájí Khalfá notices the *Kúmil ul Tawárikh* to the effect:—“No. 9733. *Kamíl el tewárikh, liber historiarum perfectus. Tredecim volumina, auctore Sheikh Izz-ed-dín A'li ben Mohammed Jezeri, vulgo Ibn-clathir dicto et anno 630 (inc. 18th Oct., 1232) mortuo. Incepit ibi a rerum initio, et ad annum 628 (inc. 9th Nov. 1230) progressus est.*” V. 25.]

<sup>1</sup> A'bd-ul-Malik died in Shawál, or the tenth month of A.H. 350. Abú'l Fidá, *Annales Muslemici*, Reiske (1790) ii. 470.—“11th Shawál, 350.”—*Kitáb Yamín*, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> In this redistribution of the intervening epoch, it is of course necessary to reject all notion of the *Ferwán Toghrá* coins, Nos. B, C, D (*Jour. ix.* 201-2), of the years 365 and 366, having formed part of the Mint issues of Alptagín; nevertheless they may still be taken to have constituted a portion of a serial coinage, based upon models of earlier introduction, continued under his auspices and retained by his successors after him. Such an amended theory is likewise demanded by the numismatic evidence recently brought to light, which explains satisfactorily the otherwise anomalous reiteration of the name of Nasr bin Ahmad throughout the series. As he is shown by M. Dorn's coins (*Samaniden-Münzen von P. Saweljew, St. Petersburg, 1855, Nos. 11, 12, 13*) to have been the first to adopt and introduce into Mint use the distinctive motto of نصر من الله و فتح قريب on the occasion of the victory of his army over the Delemites at Muhammadia (Rai) in A.H. 329.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khaldún, as quoted by M. Defrémy (p. 263) affirms—“Alptéguin était au nombre des affranchis des Samanides et gouverneur de Ghaznah et du Khorácan. Son fils, Abou-Ishac, était son lieutenant dans cette dernière province, et comptait Sébuéteguin parmi ses serviteurs. Il l'investit du poste de chambellan. Abou-Ishac se rendit à Bokhara sous le règne d'Alaésid-Mançour, fils de Nouh.

possession of the government of Ghazni, and in virtue of his office availed himself for a time of the kingly prerogative to coin money, relinquishing both power and place on Abú Ishak's formal investiture by the court of Bokhárá, to whom, strange to say, his own coin proves the local authorities of Ghazni still continued to profess allegiance<sup>1</sup>. Bulkátagín's status as chief of the Turks, which subsequently availed him on a like occasion, may reasonably have simplified this earlier

Sébuqtéguin remplissait alors les fonctions de chambellan auprès d'Abou-Ishac. Alptéguin mourut à Ghaznah, et son fils Abou-Ishac fut envoyé dans cette ville pour le remplacer. Il mourut peu de temps après son arrivée." U'tbi, in his Kitáb f Yamíni, under the authority of Abú Hasan Kházin, also mentions Abú Ishak as commandant of the forces in Khorásán, from which post, the text would seem to imply that he was promoted direct to the government of Ghazni. See M. de Sacy. Notices and Extracts, iv. 330, and translation of the same work, likewise from the Persian version, by the Rev. J. Reynolds. O. T. F., London, 1858, p. 22.

As there was some discrepancy to be detected between the French and English versions of this important quotation, and as each pretended to be no more than a mere translation of a translation, I thought it worth while to refer to the original Arabic text; and, having collated the excellently written M.S. in the British Museum, with a very elaborately commented lithographed edition, printed at the Delhi Madrissa, I sought the assistance of Mr. H. T. Prinsep in securing an accurate and independent rendering of the somewhat obscure passage. The result is appended below.

"This account of him [Subuktagín] was related to me by Abú Hasan Ja'far, son of Muhammad the Treasurer,—'That he [Subuktagín] came to Bukhárá in the days of the good Amír Mansúr Bin Núh, in the suite of Abú Ishak, son of Alptagín, who was commandant of the armies of Khorásán. Then (literally, when he, Abú Ishak, was that)—he [Subuktagín] was his [Ishak's] Hajib Kabír, or Master of the Ceremonies. And he had a noble countenance, and the burthen of Ishak's affairs was on him, and the management of all his business was in his hands. The nobles of that state (i.e. Bukhárá) remarked in him the qualities of high courage and kindness of disposition and generosity, with energy and promptitude, and anticipated for him a career of exaltation because of his high aspirations and acuteness. At the time of Abú Ishak's return to Ghazni, as Váli and chief in his father's place, he [Subuktagín] returned with him in the suite,—that is, in command of his troops, and discharging the duties of the chamberlain's office. But Ishak, very soon after his return, finished his career and lost his life, leaving none of his race or kin fit for his position and place. Then a number of his [Ishak's] servants and of those of his father were in great anxiety and trouble as to the succession to the chiefship and [the choice of] a person in whose good management of all parties they could confide; and they did not cease differing about the chiefship and quarrelling about relative fitness, until at last, by the assent of all voices, it was agreed to make him [Subuktagín] the Amír; and all opinions combined to approve his arrangements and to obey his orders for bringing forward or postponing."

<sup>1</sup> As I have already remarked in my first paper, a parallel system of recognition of the Sámání lords of Bukhárá was seemingly maintained on the Ghaznaví currency up to the date of the extinction of the suzerain dynasty. See J.R.A.S. ix. 268, and coins Nos. 9, 10, 22, 23, &c., old series.

step towards sovereign power, some of the functions of which he must already have exercised elsewhere, if the coin above cited and struck at Balkh in A.H. 324, refer to the same individual.

Passing by the special question involved in the superscription on the coin, and following the compiler, for whom, in virtue of the authority cited, credence is claimed, it will be seen that with the exception of the relative date of Abū Ishak's death, a year after his return to Ghazni, there is nothing definite whereby to fix the duration of his rule, either as nominal or effective sovereign of that state; and equally that the two years' *authorized* reign of Bulkātagīn, is dependent for its epochal justification upon a definition of the limits of those of his predecessors; or, if more exact information were afforded, upon a determination of the period over which the seemingly short-lived power of Pīrī extended prior to the fixed date of Subuktagīn's formal accession on the 7th day of the 8th month of 366.

The illustrative novelties next in order of date do not properly belong to the Ghaznavi series, but the prince whose name they bear is so closely identified with the early progress of both Subuktagīn and Mahmūd, until the time when he finally becomes the vassal of the latter, that his independent coinage in Seistān forms a proper introduction to the mintages of his conquerors in the same province, of which specimens have already been given in the pages of this Journal<sup>1</sup>.

The biography of Khalaf bin Ahmad is largely dwelt upon by contemporary writers, and especially by U'tbī, the author of the *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī*, from whose work the following sketch of the life of this remarkable character has been chiefly drawn :—

*Note on the Life of Khalaf bin Ahmad of Seistān.*

Some obscurity exists regarding the precise descent of Khalaf bin Ahmad<sup>2</sup>, but it may be sufficient for our present purpose to recognise a relationship to certain members of the extinct dynasty of the Saffarīs, to the possession of whose metropolitan province he succeeded, after its intermediate subjection to the Sāmānī Empire of Bokhārā.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S., ix. p. 326, No. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Rauzat-as-safā*, vol. iv. c. 14. I quote from the Persian MS. of the R. A. S. No. xxv., as I have not been able to meet with the Vienna translation. "*Historia priorum regum Persarum, ex Mohammedo Mirchond. Persicè et Latine, 4to Viennæ, 1782.*" See also *Habib-us-Siyar*, vol. ii. c. 4. (Bombay lithographed edition, 1857), and Price, quoting *Khulāsāt-al-Akhhār*, "*Mohammedan History, London,*" 1821, vol. ii. p. 243.

He is first noticed in the *Tárikh Yamíní*<sup>1</sup>, on the occasion of his undertaking a pilgrimage to Mekka in A.H. 354<sup>2</sup>, when he leaves his kinsman Táhir Ibn Hussain in charge of his dominions. The latter plays him false during his absence, and on his return he finds his own kingdom closed against him. On Khalaf's obtaining<sup>3</sup> aid from Mansúr bin Núh, Táhir relinquishes his position; but on the withdrawal of the Suzerain's troops, he again asserts his supremacy. Khalaf, for the second time, seeks succour from Mansúr, and thus reinforced, besieges Hussain bin Táhir<sup>4</sup>—who in the interval had succeeded his father—in the fortress of Ark<sup>5</sup>. Hussain, on an appeal to Mansúr, is allowed a safe conduct, and Khalaf is reinstated in his dominions. Years roll on, and he himself in turn is found failing in allegiance to his Sámání lord, when, strange anomaly, this same Hussain bin Táhir is sent to subdue him, but wastes seven years ineffectually in the siege of the citadel of Ark<sup>6</sup>, till at last Abúl Hussain bin Simjár, the

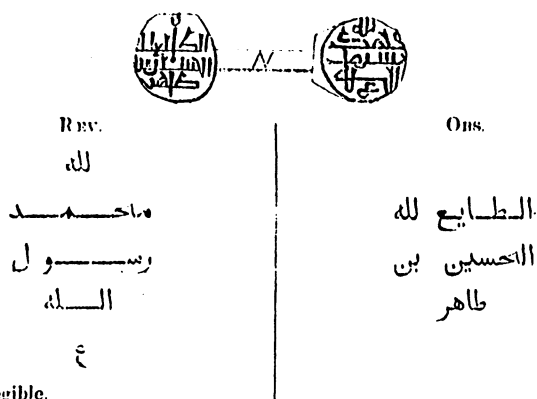
<sup>1</sup> Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. iv. p. 336. Histoire de Yémíneddoula Mahmúd (Kitáb Yemini), traduite de Persan, par A. I. Silvestre de Sacy; and also The Kitáb-i-Yamíní, translated from the Persian version of Ul-Utbi, by the Rev. J. Reynolds (Oriental Translation Fund), 1858, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Athír, A.H. 353; Rauzat-as-safa, A.H. 353; Habib-us-Siyar, A.H. 350.

<sup>3</sup> In A.H. 353, according to the Khulásat al Akhbár. Price ii. 43.

<sup>4</sup> The following coin of Hussain-bin-Táhir is to be found in Colonel Rawlinson's collection:—

No. A. Gold. Size 2. Weight 19 gr.—B. M.



Margin illegible.

<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, p. 52. The name is not given by De Sacy.—Not. et Ex. iv. 337.

<sup>6</sup> "Ark," De Sacy, iv. 337-8; and Kitáb i Yamíní, p. 59.—ارك Ibn Athír. See also Histoire des Samanides, par Mirkhond, traduite par M. Deffrémery, Paris,

Governor of Khorásán, is directed to interfere<sup>1</sup>, and prevails upon Khalaf to retire, while offering apparent submission, to the castle of Tákh (طاق)<sup>2</sup>. The supremacy of the reigning emperor, Náh bin Mansúr, being duly recognised by the usual Moslem formalities of the recitation of his name in the public prayers, and its insertion in the legends of the coin of the realm.

On the resumption of U'tbí's narrative, Khalaf is stated to have remained in quiet possession of his territory up to the period of Subuktágín's expedition against Jaipúl in 367 A.H.<sup>3</sup>, when he takes advantage of the opportunity to seize upon Bust and appropriate the treasures of the province; but even this overt act of treachery seems to have been forgiven by Subuktágín on the restitution of the funds thus temporarily alienated<sup>4</sup>. An event regarding which U'tbí remains silent seems to have occurred shortly after 379 A.H.<sup>5</sup>, in Khalaf's mission of his own son A'mrú to take possession of Kermán, where he obtains a momentary success, but is finally defeated by A'bbas bin Ahmad, the general of Samsám ud doulah, the Búiyah ruler of Fárs. On the son's return to Seistán, Khalaf—for no apparent reason but his want of success, puts him to death with the most uncompromising barbarity<sup>6</sup>.

Khalaf next appears on the scene as joining Subuktágín's force with his contingent, on that general's march to oppose Abú A'li at Nishápúr. He himself is left behind, but his troops aid in the cam-

1845, p. 265. Col. Anderson supposes this name of Ark (the Greek *αρχ*) to be used for the citadel of Zaranj, the capital of Seistán. Under the description of that town in the *Ashkál al bilád*, we are told—"Inside the city, between the Kurkoonuh and Meeshuk gates, is a grand building called the *Ur-k*—it was the treasury of Omar." See Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, xxi., 365, 372.

<sup>1</sup> About A.H. 371. Price ii. 245. Defrémery, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Albírání Kánún MS. *حصن الطاق فطال ل م* ---For طاق see also Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, pp. 208, 211, 212. T. H. Möller, *Liber Climatum, (Istakhrif)*, Gotha, 1839, p. 103; and Col. Anderson's *Translation of the Ashkál al bilád's Account of Seistán*, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, xxi. pp. 369, 371, and 373.

<sup>3</sup> Dow's *Translation of Ferishtah*, i. 22. Brigg's ditto, i. 16. *Kitáb i Yamíní*, 43. Reinand, *P'Inde*, 250. Malecom's *Hist. Persin*, i. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *Kitáb i Yamíní*, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> R. S. iv. 15. On Samsám ud doulah Buiyah's accession to power at Shiráz, i. e. [about] 379 A.H. Abú Faraj, A.H. 379, p. 212. See also D'Herbelot in voce; and Price ii. 265, A.H. 387-98.

<sup>6</sup> R. S. vol. iv. cap. 15. The Habib us Siyar, ii. 4, in commenting on his and a second similar murder, says—

.. که دو پسر خود را بدست خود در ایام حکومت قتل نمود

paign; and on the final defeat of Abú A'li and Faik at Tús in 385 A.H., Subuktagin sends back the Seistán force with honour and commendation. Khalaf's intriguing disposition again develops itself on Subuktagin's proceeding to the northward against Ailek Khán, though any positive rupture seems to have been averted till after the death of the Ghaznavi monarch, when Khalaf sends his son Táhir to annex certain dependencies of Bagrachak<sup>1</sup>, Mahmúd's uncle, at this time ruler of Herát, &c. In an action which ensued, Bagrachak was killed; and eventually in A.H. 390<sup>2</sup>, Mahmúd himself advanced into Seistán, where, however, he contented himself with receiving Khalaf's somewhat abject submission and a money fine<sup>3</sup>.

About the year A.H. 392 Khalaf abdicated in favour of his son Táhir. Subsequently, thinking better of this act, he treacherously inveigled his son into his power<sup>4</sup>, who thereupon meets a speedy end in his father's prison. The feelings of the nobles of the land at this incident are developed in a rebellion, ending in the deposition of Khalaf and the submission of the conspirators, in A.H. 393, to Mahmúd; while Khalaf, after standing a siege in his last refuge<sup>5</sup>, surrenders to Mahmúd<sup>6</sup> with an ostentatious amount of self-humiliation sufficient to secure him once again the mercy of the conqueror, who provides him with an honourable exile<sup>7</sup>, which, after four years duration and the discovery of intrigues with Ailek Khán, is converted into close confinement, in which "the volume of his life received its last seal" in Rajab A.H. 399<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dow, i. 51. Bujerat, Not. et Ex. Bagrachak. Arabic text, Táríkh Yamíní

بغراجق R.S. بغراجق

<sup>2</sup> A.H. 390. T. Y. p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Not. et Ex. p. 739. T. Y. 280.

<sup>4</sup> T. Y. 285. Mirkhond does not adopt this preliminary statement of U'tbi's but he is quite clear as to the treachery, and adds—

و خلف نیز بدست خود كشته

<sup>5</sup> R. S. طاق. So also Price, K. A. 282.

<sup>6</sup> Price dates this expedition of Mahmúd in 394 (p. 282, vol. ii.) D'Hierbelot in voce, 393 A.H. p. 533. De Guignes, ii. 155, A.H. 393.

<sup>7</sup> R.S. و او بسبب موافقت آب و هوا موضع جورجان اختيار كرد

H.S. جرجان De Sacy proposes to amend this to *Dhouzdjan*. Not. et Ext. iv. p. 363.

<sup>8</sup> The *Khalásat ul Akhbar* sums up his character thus:—"This Kholf, the son of Ahmad, is represented, at the same time, as equally adorned and distinguished by his acquirements in all the learning of his age and country, by the liberality and benevolence of his mind, and by his unbounded patronage of genius and science, however exhibited." Price, vol. ii. 243.

## KHALAF-BIN-AHMAD.

No. 2.

Gold. Size 1½. Weight 8·5 gr.<sup>1</sup> A.H. 355.—*British Museum (Collection of Sir H. C. Rawlinson).*

Rev.	Obv.
ماحمد	المطيع لله
رسول	خلف بن احمد
الله	عدل
ند	
Margin. Illegible.	Marg. خمس وخمسين وثلاث

[NOTE.—The following coins are noticed in this place,—in so much of association with the obvious money of Khalaf-bin-Ahmad forming part of the small collection from the same site, presented to the British Museum by Colonel Sir H. C. Rawlinson—without being definitely classed under the like heading and attribution, as objections may be taken to the absence of the patronymic so uniformly expressed upon the ascertained coins of this prince; an uncertainty exists further as to their places of mintage, and, finally, grave doubts must arise, in the absence of any historic testimony to the fact, as to whether Khalaf-bin-Ahmad could have attained kingly power so early as 331 A.H. It is true that he is represented as dying at a mature old age in 399 A.H.; but it would be, perhaps, claiming too much to infer that he had arrived at manhood and princely rank sixty-eight years previous to that event.

The names of the mint cities on these pieces are only partially legible; that on the coin engraved is seen to consist of a trilateral compound, and, looking to

<sup>1</sup> This coin has been engraved for the forthcoming number of the Numismatic Chronicle as No. 5, vol. xx. p. 56, to illustrate a paper on the special subject by Mr. Vaux.

No. 2 a.

Gold. Size 24. Weight 18.5 gr. Sejestán.—*British Museum.*

Similar Areas, with the monogram ع at foot of Reverse Area.

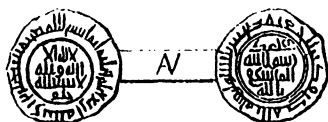
Obverse Margin displays portions of the Kalimah, viz. :—

. . . له وحده لا شريك

The Reverse Margin retains the words بسم الله ضرب بساجستان

the identities of letters in other portions of the legends, the initial should preferentially be read as ر and the final as ك. The name of the town on the second piece I will not even venture to guess at.]

No. B.

Gold. Size 3. Weight 15 gr. A. H. 334.—*British Museum.*

Rev.	Obv.
ماحمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
المستكفي	لا شريك له
بالله	خلف

Obv. Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار برك سنة اربع وثلثن وثلثمائة

Reverse Margin. . . . ماحمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق . . .  
 Kurán, Surah, ix. 38, and lxi. 9.



## No. 3.

Gold. Size 3 (broken coin). Weight 29·5 gr.<sup>1</sup> A.H. 375.—*British Museum.*  
 Plate, fig. 1.

REV.	OBV.
لله	لا اله الا
ماحمد	الله وحده
رسول الله	خلف بن احمد
الطابع لله	

Reverse Margin. Illegible.

Obv. Marg. سنة خمس وسبعين وثلثمائة . . . . .

There is a second coin in Colonel Rawlinson's parcel in the British Museum of an earlier date, and of seemingly similar fabric, though of varying legends, which may tend to throw light upon the due attribution of the preceding piece (No. B.) The superscriptions are reproduced below.

## No. C.

Size 1½. Weight 8·5. A. H. 331.

REV.	OBV.
لله	لا اله الا
المتقي	الله ماحمد
بالله	رسول الله
خلف	

Obv. Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا . . . . . سنة احدى وثلثين وثلثمائة



Reverse Margin. et cetera. الله ماحمد رسول الله

<sup>1</sup> This coin has likewise been engraved for the illustration of Mr. Vaux's paper in the Num. Chron. xx. p. 56.

## MAHMÚD.

No. 4.—(To precede XII. Old Series, Journal, vol. ix. p. 309).

Gold. Weight 68½ gr. Nishápúr. A.H. 399.—*British Museum.*

REV.	Obv.
 محمد رسول الله القادر بالله ولي عهده الغالب بالله يميني	 لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له يمين الدولة و امين الملة ابو القاسم سم
Obverse Margin. Int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور في سنة تسع	وتسعين و ثلثمائة
Ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	
Reverse Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	

No. 5.—(To follow XII., Old Series, Journal, vol. ix. p. 309.)

Gold. Weight gr. Nishápúr. A.H. 403.—*General Miles.*

Rev.	Obv.
محمد رسول الله القادر بالله ولي عهده الغالب بالله يمين الدولة	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو القاسم

Obverse Margin. . . . . بنيسابور سنة ثلث و اربعماية

Reverse Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

No. 6.—(To follow XVII., Old Series, p. 311.)

Gold. Weight 52 gr. Herât. A. H. 413. New Type.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
ماحمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
يمين الدولة	الله وحده
وامين الملة	لا شريك له
نظام الدين	القادر بالله
ابو القسم	

Obv. Marg. Int. بسم الله ضرب هذا... بهرة سنة ثلث عشرة واربعمائة.

,, Ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

No. 7.—(To follow XVIII., Old Series, p. 311.)

Gold. Weight 62 gr. Ghazni. A. H. 415. Unique.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Rev.	Obv.
لله	لا اله الا
ماحمد	الله وحده
رسول الله	لا شريك له
يمين الدولة	القادر بالله
وامين الملة	
ابو القسم	

Obv. Marg. Int.—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة خمس عشرة واربعمائة

,, Ext. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

No. 7 a.

Mr. B. Elliot possesses a somewhat similar coin of the Ghazni mintage, dated—

\* \* \* اربع عشرة واربعمائة i.e. 414 A. H.

## No. 7 b.

Gold. Weight 60·5 gr. Ghazni. A.H. 418.—*British Museum (Rawlinson Collection).*

Coin varying from No. 7, only in the change of date, and the substitution of the name of **ماحمود** for the **أبو القاسم** on the reverse.

## No. 8.—(To precede No. XIX., Old Series, p. 311.)

Gold. Weight 70 gr. Nishápúr. A. H. 405.—*British Museum.*

Similar legends to No. XIX., Old Series; varying only in the omission of the **عدل**, and the insertion of the title **وامين الملة** on the sides of the obverse field.

## No. 9.—(To follow No. XX., Old Series, Journal ix., p. 312.)

Aur. cus. in *Nisabur* a 421. A. i. a sin. et dext., Ar. **القادر بالله**

Margin. Int.—

**بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدى وعشرين واربعماية**

A. ii. **ماحمد رسول الله**

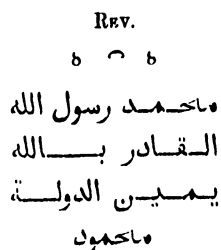
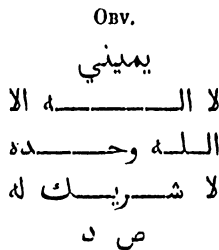
**عليه السلام**

**ماحمود**

Fræhn, Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de St. Petersbourg, tome iv. (1840) p. 45; and Opusc. Postum., edidit B. Dorn, p. 251.

## No. 10.—(No. XXVII., Old Series, p. 315.)

Silver. Weight 44 gr. Ghazni. A. H. 395.—*Colonel Stacy.*

REV.	OBV.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>

Obv. Marg. **بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغرنا، سنة خمس وتسعين وثلاثماية**

Reverse Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

As introductory to the later acquisitions of the same type of coin, I reinsert the original woodcut of the previously sole available example of the bilingual coinage of Mahmūd, which has already appeared at p. 323, vol. ix., *Journal R.A.S.*

Since the date of the publication in question, European collectors have succeeded in rescuing from the local crucibles no less than three additional specimens of this mintage, which determine conclusively that the issue constituted an ordinary serial coinage of a given locality, as opposed to the alternative supposition, suggested by the solitary piece heretofore known, of an occasional or commemorative purpose being indicated in their exceptional type. A second annual date is furnished by the new accessions, but the more interesting information in regard to the site of their fabrication still remains indeterminate, though the denomination of the mint city may be conjecturally suggested from the partially legible letters preserved in the Kufic on two coins, and the full designation of Mahmūd, so obvious in the Sanskrit marginal records—as a locality honoured, on its conquest, by some titular identification with his own name.

Having completed the mechanical decipherment of the several letters of the central legend nearly as they are now reproduced under the description of Coin No. 11, I submitted the result, together with my original collocated facsimile transcripts of the superscriptions of the several pieces, to the scrutiny of Professor Wilson, and having carefully tested the value of each individual character by the demands of Palaeographic consistency and the requisitions of linguistic sense<sup>1</sup>, I adopt, without hesitation, the following matured version of our highest Sanscrit authority :

अव्यक्तमेक मुहम्मद अवत(त्)र नृपति महमूद

*Abyaktameka Muhammad avat(ā)ra Nripati Mahmūd.*  
The invisible one, Muhammad incarnation, King Mahmūd.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Wilson was at first inclined to suggest a transcription of

श्री प्रभुरेक *Sri prabhureka* for the opening phrase, but upon examining more closely the formation of the original letters and comparing them with repetitions or variations on other portions of the coins, he decided upon the reading given above, representing अव्यक्तमेकम् *Avyaktamekam*, “the indiscrete, the invisible one”—specially used to signify the first cause or supreme universal spirit.

No. 11.—(No. XLII., Old Series, Journal ix. p. 323.)

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 45·4 gr. A.H. 412.—*British Museum.*

Rev.

بِالله  
 لا اله الا الله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 يمين الدولة  
 وامين الملة  
 محمد

Obv. (Revised Reading)

अ व्यक्तमेक  
 मुहम्मद अ  
 वतर नृत  
 ति महमूद



Obv. Marg. अय टक महमूद सवत ४१२

This Taka (of) Mahmūd Samvat. 412.

Reverse Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا واربعمائة

No. 12.

Silver. Size 4. Weight 36·5 gr. A.H. 412.—*Colonel T. Bush. Plate, fig. 2.*

Arens as in No. 11.

Obv. Marg. अय टक म कीयर सवत ४१२

Reverse Margin. \* \* \* \* الله ضرب هذا الدرهم محمد

No. 13.

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 41 gr. A.H. 419.—*British Museum, Plate, fig. 3.*

Obverse Area as in No. 11.

Margin. अयं ट कीयर संवती ४१९

Reverse Area as above, No. 11, with the exception that the الفادر is placed at the top, and the بالله on the left side of the field.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا \* \* \* عشرة واربعمائة

No. 14.

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 46 gr. A.H. 419.—*My Cabinet*. Plate, fig. 4.

Obverse Area as in No. 11.

Margin. अयं टक महमूद कयर संवती ४१९

Reverse Area as in No. 13.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم [بمحمود سر<sup>1</sup>] سنة تسع  
عشرة وأربعماية

No. 15.—(To precede XLIII., Old Series, p. 324.)

Silver. Weight 46 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush*.

Rev.

بسم الله

محمد رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم  
 القادر بالله  
 يمين الدولة  
 محمد بن محمود

Margin illegible.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 يميني

Margin apparently unengraved.

No. 15 a.

Colonel Stacy's collection—now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—contains a coin with legends similar to the above, varying only in the insertion of the **امدين الله** in the ordinary alignment, above the name of **محمود**

<sup>1</sup> See geographical summary at the end of this section of the paper.

No. 16 (Variety of No. LIV, Old Series, Journal ix. p. 333.)

Copper. Ghazni, A.H. 405.

Similar, in the typical arrangement of the intricately interlaced legends, to No. LIV., Old Series; but presenting the novelty of the use of the word **کوره** (city) as a prefix to the name of the place of mintage. This is the only instance, within my knowledge, of the use of a similar specification in the Ghaznavi series; the synonymous word **بلد** will be seen to have been occasionally employed by the succeeding monarchs of the Ghori race.

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Having concluded the description of the coins of Mahmūd, it may be appropriate to complete the archaeological records of his rule by a notice of the extant monumental inscriptions preserved in his ancient capital. These consist, 1st, of the writing that adorns and explains the object of the erection of the Minār, which stands to this day near his burial place<sup>1</sup>; 2nd, of the Kufic and Neskhi scrolls on his marble tombstone; and, 3rd, of the brief inscription on the Deodwār, or Himālayan pine-wood portals of his sepulchre<sup>2</sup>, which tradition has associated, on very insufficient grounds, with the gates of Somnāth<sup>3</sup>. I do not consider that there is any reason to doubt the antiquity of these monuments, or the authenticity of the records they bear, though it is a matter of regret that the minaret should have suffered so much from time, exposure, and possibly violence, as to leave its commemorative legend difficult to decipher or restore.

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<sup>1</sup> An engraving and description of the fellow minār will be found at the end of the coins of Masūd.

<sup>2</sup> This quasi shrine seems to have been respected from the very first; and even the all-destroying A'la-ud-din Jihānsūz withheld his hand from the tomb of Mahmūd.

<sup>3</sup> These gates are now preserved in the fort of Agra. Elaborate drawings of them have been published in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xii. (1843), and reduced facsimile models are to be seen in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.



*Inscription No. 1.*

Copy in the Suls character of the Kufic Inscription on the Minaret nearest the village of Rozah<sup>1</sup>:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم السلطان الاكرم ملك الاسلام  
يمين الدولة و امين الملة ابو المظفر ظهير المسلمين ومعين  
المساكين ابي القاسم محمود انارالله برهانه بن سبكتكين  
غازي الغازي امير المومنين امر بنا هذا العامة العالة العلية  
قدتمت باليمن والبركة

*Translation.*

"In the name of God the Most Merciful. The High and Mighty Sultán, Malik of Islám, the Right Arm of State, Trustee of the Faith, the Victory Crowned, the Patron of Moslems, the Aid of the Destitute, the Munificence Endowed, Mahmúd (may God glorify his testimony), son of Subuktagín, the Champion of Champions, the Amír of Moslems,—ordered the construction of this lofty of loftiest of monuments, and of a certainty it has been happily and prosperously completed."

*Inscription No. 2.*

Kufic Scroll on the Sarcophagus of Mahmúd, at Ghazní:—

غفران من الله للامير الاجل السيد نظام الدين ابو القاسم  
محمود بن سبكتكين غفرالله له

*Translation.*

"May there be forgiveness from God upon the great Amír, the Lord, Nizám

<sup>1</sup> The above is extracted verbatim from the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal (1843), vol. xii. p. 77. The imperfect state of the monument from whence this inscription has been copied, must necessarily detract from the conclusiveness of portions of the transcription; however, in the absence of authentic facsimiles, it is given on the faith of the officials employed by General Nott, for it is not definitively stated, nor can I otherwise discover, under whose direct supervision the professed reproduction and too obvious restitutions were made.

ud dīn Abūl Kāsim Mahmūd, son of Subuktagīn. May God have mercy upon him!."

MEM.—"On the reverse of the Sarcophagus, there is an inscription in the Neskī character, recording the date of the decease of Sultān Mahmūd, as Thursday, the 7th<sup>2</sup>, remaining day (*i.e.*, the 22nd or 23rd) of the month of Rabi' al Akhir, A.H. 421." (H. C. Rawlinson.) Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, xii. 76.

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*Inscription No. 3.*

Inscription in Kufic on the upper portion of the framing of the so-called "Gates of Somnāth," once forming the portals of the Tomb of Mahmūd, at Ghazni:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم غفران من الله للامير الاجل السيد  
الملك المريد يمين الدولة وامين الملة ابو القاسم محمود بن  
سبكتكين رحمة الله عليه ولو رحمة له

*Translation.*

"In the name of the most merciful God—(may there be) forgiveness from God for the Amīr, the most Illustrious, the Lord, the Victorious King, Right Hand of the State, and Custodian of the Faith, Abūl Kāsim Mahmūd, son of Subuktagīn, may the mercy of God be upon him . . . ." [remaining phrase illegible].

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<sup>1</sup> I have reproduced the Arabic text given above from the Kufic facsimile of Lieut. Studdart. The more minute Kufic legend on the band below the main inscription is too imperfectly rendered in that officer's lithograph to be susceptible of decipherment. It appears, however, to commence with the usual

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that a counterpart definition of the date of Mahmūd's decease is given by Baihaki.—Jour. Royal Asiatic Society, ix. 331.

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## MUHAMMAD BIN MAHMUD.

THE three novel accessions to the heretofore unique specimen of the coinage of Muhammad bin Mahmūd, apart from their claims on the ground of numismatic rarity, deserve attention for the several items of historic interest which they exemplify by the tenor of their legends.

The first in order, No. 17, will be seen to be dated in A.H. 414, and presents the peculiarity of an apparent fabrication from one of Mahmūd's own reverse dies, associated with an obverse engraved to bear testimony to Muhammad's local kingship, and to display the mint-impress of Jūzjān, the Government specially assigned to him by his father shortly after A.H. 406<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Masson's collection had previously contributed a somewhat parallel piece, in the joint names of Mahmūd and his son Masaūd, the illustrative value however of which was considerably diminished by the obliteration of both date and place of mintage<sup>2</sup>. The present exemplar, supported as it is by No. 18, definitively shows that these young princes, in addition to the other insignia of royalty somewhat guardedly apportioned to them, were both permitted to exercise, under due restrictions, the privilege so highly prized among Oriental nations, of coining money<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This nomination is deposed to in his brother Masaūd's own words:—

MS. *Tārīkh-i-Masaūdi*. ولایت هرات بما داد و ولایت کوزکانان ببرادر ما.

I observe that Muhammad was at his seat of government at the moment of his father's death. One copy of the *Masaūdi* inserts the following passage to this purport, after the word رفتند in the extract already given from a less perfect MS., at p. 331, vol. ix. line 4, note 1:—

\* \* بکوزکانان تا امیر محمد بزودی بیاید و بر تخت ملک نشیند

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal*, vol. ix p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> The jealousy existing between these twin brothers, as well as the subject of Oriental pomp and ceremonies, is amusingly illustrated in the following speech of Masaūd:—

و برادر خلیفه ما باشد چنانکه نخست بر منابر نام ما برند بشهرها و خطبه بنام ما کنند. آنگاه نام وی و بر سکه درم و دینار و طراز

جامه نخست نام ما نویسند آنگاه نام وی

The second specimen, in seeming order of time, for the date is not fully preserved<sup>1</sup>, in like manner bears the conjoint designations of father and son; but in this instance, the former's titles of honour are altogether omitted, as was the case in many of his own later currencies of northern fabric<sup>2</sup>, and otherwise the coin has the appearance of the consistent design attending a serial currency, as contrasted with the hasty combination to be detected in the earlier piece. The name of the place of mintage is, in this case, singularly well defined, reading obviously **وارالين** Wáwálin, a city regarding which I have elsewhere entered into minute enquiries<sup>3</sup>, but whose exact position it is difficult to fix, owing to intermediate changes of urban sites and attendant modifications of nomenclature; it will be enough to indicate that it was situated between Khulum and Tálikán, somewhere near the modern Kundúz.

No. 19, in its own degree, illustrates another section of the annals of its day, in the insertion of the name of Ahmad, under the usual Arab form of surname<sup>4</sup>, where the father's designation is derived back from the son. Here Muhammad is found calling himself **أبو أحمد** "the father of Ahmad<sup>5</sup>," the son under whose guidance he had eventually, in the days of his blindness, to rule the kingdom once again restored to him on the deposition of his brother Masaúd.

<sup>1</sup> There are traces only of the commencement of the unit number (**أحد**) I adopt 421 A.H. as the more probable date, in preference to 411 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 50, 53, Old Series, and No. 21. New Series, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> See Journal, ix. p. 316; also geographical notes immediately following the Table of dates, *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> **كنية** "a patronymic, or a filionymic."

<sup>5</sup> The legible legends on coin No. 19 now enable me to explain the imperfectly formed monogrammatic heading on the reverse of Coin LVII., which proves to be the identical designation of **أبو أحمد**

No. 17—(To precede No. LVII., Old Series, Journal, ix. 334).

Silver. Weight 36·0 gr. Jázjún, A.H. [4]14. Unique.—*Colonel T. Bush.* Plate, No. 6.

REV.	OBV.
<p>لله</p> <p>ماحمد رسول الله</p> <p>صلي الله عليه وسلم</p> <p>القادر بالله يمين الدولة</p> <p>وامين الملة نظام الدين</p> <p>ابو القسم</p>	<p>عدل</p> <p>لا اله الا</p> <p>* الله وحده *</p> <p>لا شريك له</p> <p>ماحمد بن ماحمد</p>

Obverse Margin. — هم باجوز جان سنة اربع وعش \* \*

Reverse Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

See coin of similar character, with the joint names of Mahmúd and Mása'úd, No. xxi. p. 312, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. ix.

# No. 18.

Silver. Weight 50 gr. Wáwáfn.<sup>1</sup> Unique.—*Colonel Bush.* Plate, fig. 7.

REV.	OBV.
<p>لله</p> <p>ماحمد</p> <p>رسول الله</p> <p>عليه السلام</p> <p>ماحمد</p>	<p>عدل</p> <p>لا اله الا الله</p> <p>وحده لا شريك</p> <p>له القادر بالله</p> <p>ماحمد بن</p>

Obverse Margin. . . . بهذا الدرهم بواوالدين سنة احـ — —

Reverse Margin. — — و يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنـ Surah xxx. 4, 5.

<sup>1</sup> See note on this mint city, Jour. R. A. S. ix. pp. 316 and 339; and also the geographical recapitulation at the end of this article.

No. 10—(To follow No. LVII., Old Series, Journal, ix, 384).

Silver. Weight 60 gr. Unique. Mr. Frere.—*British Museum*. Plate, Fig. 7.

REV.	OBV.
<p>ماحمد  رسول الله جلال  الدولة وجمال  الملة ابو احمد  ماحمد بن ماحمد</p>	<p>لا اله الا  الله وحده  لا شريك له  القادر بالله</p>
Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.	Margin illegible.

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No. 10 a.

Bilingual coin of this Sultan, of the Bull and Horseman type—described and illustrated under No. 26, at page 170 *infra*.

## MASAÚD.

No. 20—(To follow No. LVIII.)

Gold. Weight gr.—*Mr. Bardoe Elliot*, late Bengal Civil Service.

REV.	OBV.
الله	القايم
• محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ناصر دين الله	وحده لا شريك له
حافظ عباد الله	القادربالله
ظهير خليفه الله	ولي عهده
• مسعود	

Obverse Margins. Int. illegible. Ext. usual formula.

Reverse Margin as usual. Surah, ix. 33; and lxi. 9.

No. 21.

Gold. Weight 57 gr. Ghazni. A. H. 423. Unique.—*Colonel Stacy*.

REV.	OBV.
الله	لا اله الا
• محمد رسول الله	الله وحده
صلي الله عليه	لا شريك له
الناصر لدين الله	القايم بامر الله
• مسعود	

Obverse Margin. Int.—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة ثلث و عشرين و اربعماية

„ „ Ext. xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

## No. 22.

Gold. Weight 54 gr. Ghazni. A.H. 423. Unique.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Rev.  
 لله  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 عليه السلام  
 مسعود

Obv.

Same as in No. 21.

Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Margins as in No. 21.

## No. 23.

Gold. Weight 69 gr. Ghazni. A.H. 428.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Rev.  
 لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 القائم بأمر الله  
 ناصر لدين الله  
 أبوسعيد

Obv.

عدل  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 مسمود بن محمود

Obverse Margin. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة  
 ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة

Reverse Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.



## No. 23 a.

Mr. Bardoe Elliot has a coin of this type, dated Ghazni, A.H. 427.

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There is a marked modification in the forms of the letters constituting the legends of these coins as contrasted with the style of character in ordinary use. The change from the stiff and formal outlines of the Kufic in No. 22, to the more flowing Persian writing in No. 23, is most striking, and possibly illustrates either Masa'ud's own Persian predilections, or mayhap the decline of the supremacy of the Arabic tongue, somewhat irregularly used as the Court language. We learn, indeed, from Baihaki, that in A.H. 422-3, Masa'ud's ministers had some difficulty in corresponding, and still more difficulty in verbal communication, with the Court of Baghdád.<sup>1</sup>

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No. 24—(No. lxi., Old Series, Journal, p. 338).

Silver. Broken Coin. Balkh, A.H. (4)22.—*Colonel Stacy.*

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No. 25—(Variety of No. LXVII., Old Series, Journal, p. 340).

Silver. Weight 53 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Obverse and Reverse trilinear legends as in the original type, No. 67, Old Series. The word **الله** replaces the **ظهیر** at the top of the reverse field, and the full name of **مسعود** is contracted into its initial **م**.

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No. 26—(To follow No. LXXIV., Old Series, Journal, p. 342).

In classifying Mr. Masson's ample collection of the coins of the kings of Ghazni, I was necessarily struck with the entire absence of any money of the period purporting to have been minted at the ancient city of Kábul. This, however, seemed to be so far explained by the data afforded by the coins themselves, as to lead me to infer that Ferwán, in the first instance, and Ghazni, at a more advanced stage of the Mohammedan domination, supplied in turn the monetary wants

<sup>1</sup> See also remarks upon the same subject apropos to Coin No. XCVIII., Old Series, ix. p. 353; and note, p. 173, *infra*; also Elliot, *Historians of India*, 117; and *Kitáb i Yamini* (Reynolds), p. 405.

of the adjacent country.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, it appeared, during the course of the enquiry regarding the precise locality of the seat of government of the Hindú—or, as the early Moslem writers have designated it, the Brahman—dynasty, that the sovereigns of this race had ceased to reside at the old capital so early as the commencement of the fourth century, A.H.<sup>2</sup> Whether they subsequently returned for a brief space, or merely visited the revered site for the requisite purposes of inauguration (which the canon declared could not rightly be effected elsewhere<sup>3</sup>) we need not now pause to decide. It will be sufficient to conclude that in their migrations eastward, they carried with them the conventional dies of the kingdom, and continued to coin money after the same stamp, if not even in the name of the most prominent monarch of their race<sup>4</sup>, until the growing power of the Mohammedans drove them towards the Sutlege, and even the Láhór coinage yielded to Kufic influences<sup>5</sup>; while the original Bull and Horseman device, with its legends in the local character, took refuge, though but for a brief season, in Delhi and Ajmír.

The novelties I am about to describe, however, form the earliest specimens extant of the adaptation by the Mohammedans of the local money of the Hindús, in the full acceptance of the prevailing idolatrous symbols,—a concession they were seemingly unwilling to make in the first instance, when they adopted only the weights and standard of the currency of Kábul, in the issues from the Forwán mint<sup>6</sup>. The new pieces will be seen to have been produced from designs but little changed from the earlier style of the money of the Brahman kings, and retain the dynastic<sup>7</sup> title of श्री समन्त देव, “Sri Samanta

<sup>1</sup> Jour., ix. p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Jour., p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Jour., ix. p. 284, foot note.

<sup>4</sup> Coins of the Kings of Kábul, Jour. R.A.S., ix. 177. <sup>5</sup> Journal, ix. 349.

<sup>6</sup> Journal, ix. p. 303. Coins 2, &c. See also general remarks on the subject, p. 280, *ibid*.

<sup>7</sup> As I have lately had occasion to review the dynastic bearing of this name in connection with the employment of another title on one of the numerous offshoots from the standard type of coin, I may as well extract my observations on the subject:—

“I do not know that there are any more exclusively Hindú novelties in this section of numismatics that I can usefully refer to; but, before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion of my own, that the श्री हमीरः on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins, was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalif of Baghdad. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Captain Cunningham, has contested this inference. (Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, 152.) I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad-bin-Sām uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply

Deva" on the obverse, over the figure of the recumbent bull; while on the reverse, in front of the horseman, are introduced, in Kufic letters, the names severally of Muhammad and Masa'ud. I have reserved the more extended notice of the sole exemplar of this mintage pertaining to the former sultan, which is in bad preservation, till I could illustrate it by the more perfect specimen bearing the name of his brother and successor, a wood-cut of the reverse of which I now insert. Both these coins are in the possession of Mr. E. C. Bayley, Bengal Civil Service. The cut as it now appears was engraved for Mr. Austin's edition of *Prinsep's Essays*<sup>1</sup>, and has been obligingly placed at my disposal for use on the present occasion.



Having exhausted the newly discovered coins of Masa'ud, I follow

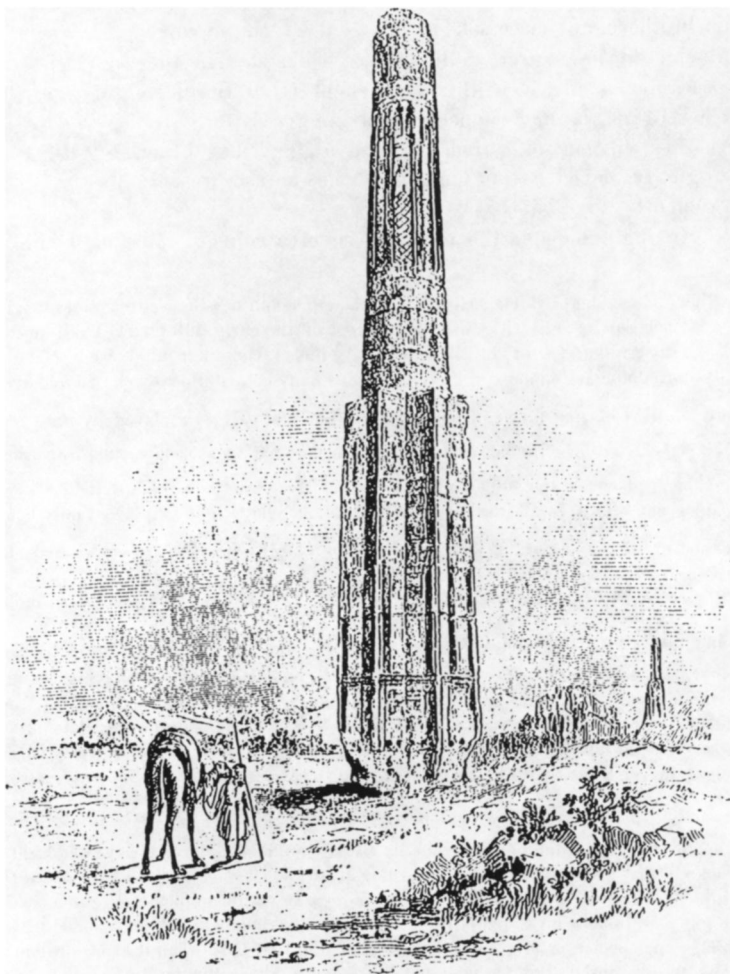
further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the names of the early Sultans of Dihli in the Pāṇam Inscription (A. 1333, Vikramāditya); but on the other hand, I can claim a still more definitive support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the **हमीरः** is replaced by the word **खलीफ**—Khalifa. As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition first takes place on the money of 'Alā-ud-dīn Masa'ud (639-644 A.H.): and here again I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of **श्री खलीफ** is combined in

other cases with a broken obverse legend of . . . **अमीरलिम** . . . which, being interpreted to stand for the **امير المؤمنين** of the Arabic system, may either be accepted as the Sanskrit counterpart legend of Altamsh's anonymous coins in the Persian character, or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed by subsequent Sultans of Dihli; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised

respecting the conventional acceptance of the **श्री समन्त देव** of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always been fully prepared to recognise the linguistic value of the word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the *Srī Samanta-deva*—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate upon whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel apposition to the succession of the titles of *Srī Hamīra* and *Khalifa* just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of *Srī Samanta-deva*, on the local coins of *Chāhad-deva*, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain to whom that *rāja* had eventually to concede allegiance."—*Prinsep's Essays*. John Murray, London, 1858, i. 332.

<sup>1</sup> Eventually published under the auspices of Mr. Murray.

the arrangement adopted in the case of Mahmúd, and append, in further illustration of the reign of the former, the incomplete inscription from the solitary metropolitan monument associated with his name, that appears to have escaped the exterminating vengeance of A'lá ud dín Jehánsoz<sup>1</sup>.



The Minarets at Ghazni, from a Sketch by G. J. Vigne, Esq.

*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 415, vol. i.

On this occasion—thanks to Mr. Fergusson's liberality—I am enabled to introduce an exact sketch of the picturesque minaret upon

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, under the Ghori dynasty.

whose surface the Kufic legend is raised—an engraving, it may be added, which is further valuable, as being the only satisfactory representation we have of any of the buildings in or around the ancient capital of the family of Subuktāgin.

Mr. Fergusson gives the following note on these buildings:—"Two minarets still adorn the plain outside the city, and form, if not the most striking, at least the most prominent of the ruins of that city. Neither of them were ever attached to any mosques; they are, indeed, pillars of victory, or *Jaya Sthambas*, like those in India. \* \* \* The lower part of these towers is of a star-like form, the plan being apparently that of two squares placed diagonally the one over the other; the upper part, rising to the height of about 140 feet from the ground, is circular. both are of brickwork, crowned with ornaments of terra-cotta of extreme elaboration and beauty, and retaining its sharpness to the present day."—*Handbook*, i. 414.

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*Inscription No. 4.*

"Copy in the Suls character of the Kufic Inscription on the Minaret nearest the town of Ghazni."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 امر السلطان الاعظم ملك الاسلام اعلام المملكة و الدولة ابو  
 سعيد مسعود بن ظهير الدولة الماحمود ابو ابراهيم نصير الدين  
 امير المؤمنين يمين المملكة امين الملة مالك رقاب الامم  
 سلطان المكرم التختان مولي ملوك العرب و العاجم خلد  
 الله تعالي ملكه و سلطانه و افاض علي العلمين برة و احسانه  
 غفر الله لاولوالدي و لجميع المسلمين

*Translation.*

"In the name of God, the most merciful, (erected) by order of the Mighty Sultān, the Malik of Islām, the Standard of Dominion and Wealth, the August Masā'id, Son of the Supporter of the State, Mahmūd, Father of Ibrāhīm, Defender of the Faith, Amīr of Moslems, the Right Arm of Dominion, the Trustee of the Faith, the Master of the Necks of Nations, the Noble and Imperial Sultān, Lord of the Countries of Arabia and Persia. May the Great God perpetuate his throne and kingdom; commemorated be his beneficence. May God forgive the sins of himself, his parents, and of all Moslems."—*J.A.S.B.*, xxii. 77, 78.

As next in authenticity to the more enduring record of titles on coins, and as corrective to a certain extent of the imperfectly decipherable inscription on his sole architectural monument, I copy from the official documents preserved in the text of *Al Baihaki* the following heading of the original Arabic عهد ونا, agreed to by *Masaúd* in A.H. 423<sup>1</sup>, which gives a full detail of his recognised titles at that period, as well as a brief recapitulation of those of his deceased father:—

*Commencement of the عهد ونا*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبدالله ابن عبدالله ابى جعفر  
الامام القايم بامر الله امير المومنين الى ناصر دين الله الحافظ  
لعباد الله المنتقم من اعداء الله ظهير خليفه الله ابى سعد مولى  
امير المومنين بن نظام الدين و كهف الاسلام و المسلمين يمين  
الدولة و امين الملة ابى القاسم ولى امير المومنين

In the less formal portions of his narrative, *Al Baihiki* entitles his sovereign حافظ بلاد الله ابو سعيد

*Albírání*, also a contemporary writer<sup>2</sup>, in his preface to his *Káním*, which bears the very name of "*Masaúdí*," enumerates his patron's titles as follows:—

الملك الاجل السيد المعظم ظهير خليفه الله و ناصر دين الله  
و حافظ عباد الله المنتقم من اعداء الله ابى سعيد مسعود

—Unpublished MS. (engrossed at Baghdád, in A.H. 570) in the collection of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, p. 1.

<sup>1</sup> A number of incidents curiously illustrative of the manners and customs of the day and the state of civilization of the Ghaznavi court, at this time held at Balkh, are developed in the course of the narration of this bit of diplomacy. The difficulties incident to the absolute necessity of the use of a foreign and very imperfectly known language on this occasion are vividly brought to light. And while detailing the official ceremonies attendant on the public recitation of the counter-part treaties in the two languages, and the signature of the several documents by *Masaúd* himself, our author takes the opportunity of enlarging on the accomplishments of that prince as a Persian scholar, in contrast to the general amount of book-learning, which was clearly limited, as one of the chief officers whose counter-signature was required, was obliged to have that duty performed for him by another!

<sup>2</sup> *Abú Rihán Muḥammad bin Ahmad al Bírání* al Khawárizmí was born about A.H. 360, and died in A.H. 430. — Elliot, *Historians of India*, p. 96.

In my first article on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni, I extracted from the Arabic text of Abûl Fidâ, a list of Masaûd's territorial possessions (*Jour.*, ix. p. 342). For the purposes of immediate comparison, I may, perhaps, fitly claim the limited amount of space needed for the introduction of the Latin translation of the original by Reisk, which has not previously been given. The Oriental author, in summarizing the events of the year A.H. 432, concludes his notice of Masaûd's rule to the effect :—

"Erat enim Masud vir excellentium virtutum, egregio beneficis in egenos; . . . maximus etiam eruditorum patronus, qui ad ipsum undecunque confluebant, eique suos libros inscribebant. Ipso litteras pingebat elegantius, et late regnaverat multaque cum gloria, Isfahane dominus, et Raiæ, Tabarestane, Gorganio, ceteraque Chorasane, Chovarezmiæ, Arranæ<sup>1</sup>, Mocrane, Kermance, Segestane, Sendio, Rocchagi, Ghaznie, Gori, terra marique imperator."—(Abûl Fidâ, iii. 113.)

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<sup>1</sup> M. Defrémery proposes to correct the original text of بلاد الران into بلاد الداور, the Zamin dâwar, on the Helmund, of the present day. As the MS. of Ibn Athîr and Ibn Khaldûn, cited in support of this rectification, seem to be conclusive on the point, otherwise sufficiently reasonable in itself, I readily concur in the substitution.

M. Defrémery, in the same article (a critique on my previous paper on the Kings of Ghazni, in the Paris "*Revue Numismatique*" for 1849, p. 230.), while adding much valuable information from independent sources, takes further occasion to amend certain readings and omissions of mine. I may as well, therefore, advert to them all seriatim in this place.

The first objection taken (at p. 236.), is to my retention of the negative prefix in the word نَباشد, in the passage extracted from the *Târikh Guzîdah*, under note 1, p. 272, *Journal*, vol. ix. M. Defrémery has so much of justification for this somewhat gratuitous emendation, that one copy of the work in question, in the E.I.H. library (No. 160), does omit this initial *nun*, and it is possible that the Paris M.S. he had occasion to consult was equally deficient in the single dot, which constitutes so often an important element in Persian writing! I was fully aware at the time I made my quotation, of the variation between the two MSS., and I deliberately and intentionally selected an inferior and infinitely worse engrossed MS. (E.I.H., No. 649) as my avowed authority, because that copy made sense of the passage and the other did not. If I could have any doubt remaining on this merely critical issue (for I see M. Defrémery coincides with me in the ultimate interpretation) it would have been completely set at rest by the text of the *Rauzat-us-Safâ*, which is phrased in a nearly similar manner, and which I alluded to without thinking it necessary, either then or now, to reproduce in confirmation of so obvious a meaning.

The next rectification concerns a more positive error of my own, which I am at a loss to account for, except on the supposition of insufficient reference to the text, whose general purport I was embodying in the current evidence applying to a particular issue. Suffice it to say, that the words "in all nine years," (line 17,

The enumeration must, of course, be held to represent Masa'ud's dominions only as they stood at the height of his power. In later years his varying fortunes stript him of many of his richest provinces; but it may be useful to quote, as indicative of the spirit of the time, and the tendency of Oriental assumption, the long list of kingdoms, some of which he had avowedly yet to conquer, claimed by him under an expected patent of the Khalif on the elevation of Alkásim Beamrillah in A.H. 422-3. Baihaki exemplifies these demands in the following terms :—

\* برآن شرط که چون ببغداد باز رسد امیرالمومنین منشوری  
تازه فرستد خراسان و خوارزم و نیمروز و زابلستان و جمله  
هند و سند و جغانیان و ختلان و قبادیان و ترمذ و قصدار  
و مکران و دانشتان و کیکاهان و ری و جبال و سباهان  
جمله تا عقبه حلوان و کرکان و طبرستان دران باشد \* \*  
\* \* و دستوری دهد تا از جانب سیستان قصد کرمان  
کرده اید و از جانب مکران قصد عمان \* \* \*

---

p. 279, vol. ix. of this Journal), should be corrected to "according to another statement, nine years."

Finally, M. Deffrémery has pointed out (note, p. 242.), with regard to my remark (at p. 281. ix.) on Mirkhond's taking no notice of the vassalage of Bahram Sháh, under Sanjar—that this statement is only partially correct, as although the author in question does not allude to this feudality in its proper place in the history of the Ghaznavís, he does speak of it under the section of his work devoted to the annals of the Suzerain Seljúks. See *Journal Asiatique*, October, 1848, p. 335.

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## MODUD.

No. 27—(No. LXXIX., Old Series, Journal, p. 345).

Silver. Weight gr. Ghazni, A.H. 434.

REV.	OBV.
فتوح	عدل
ماحمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القائم بامر الله	الله وحده
شهاب الدولة	لا شريك له
مودود	

Obverse Margin. \* \* هم بغزنة سنة اربع وثلثين

Reverse Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

## No. 27 a.

A nearly similar coin, in the collection of the late Col. Stacy, has the word رائج  
 "current," on the right of the obverse field.

## A'BD-UL-RASHID.

No. 28—(To follow No. XCVI, Old Series, Journal, p. 352).

Silver and Copper. Weight 37 gr. Unique.—*My Cabinet.*

REV.	OBV.
عز الدولة	श्री समन्त देव
وزين الملة	(Sri Samanta Deva.)
عبد الرشيد	Figure of the Bull (Nandi).

## IBRAHÍM.

No. 29—(To follow No. CIX., Old Series, Journal, p. 358).

Silver. Weight 48 gr.—*Colonel Stacy.*

REV.	Obv.
<p>○   ○   ○</p> <p>ماحمد رسول الله</p> <p>ظهیر الدولة</p> <p>المـلـك</p> <p>ابرهیم</p> <p>ع</p>	<p>لله</p> <p>لا اله الا الله</p> <p>وحده لا شریک له</p> <p>القایم بامر الله</p> <p>نصیری</p>
Margins illegible.	

No. 30—(Variety of No. CXIV., Old Series, p. 360).

Silver. Weight 29 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Obverse. رمضان ماحمد رسول الله نصیر الدولة ابرهیم

Reverse. Usual type of No. 116, O. S.

No. 31—(Variety of No. CXX., p. 362).

Silver. Weight 35 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Obverse. قران لا اله الا بالله ماحمد رسول الله المقتدی بامر الله

Reverse as in No. 120, O. S. ملك الاسلام ع ○ ك

No. 32—(To follow CXXVII., Old Series, Journal, p. 365).

Silver. Size 1½. Weight 9 gr.—*Masson Collection, E.I.H.*

Obverse. The Kallmah, in three lines.

Reverse. السلطان الاعظم ابرهیم

No. 33.

Silver. Size 1. Weight 5 gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

Obverse as No. 32. (No margin.)

Reverse. ملك ظهير الدولة ابراهيم

Margin illegible.

## MASAUD III.

No. 34—(Variety of No. CXXXIV., Old Series, Journal, p. 367).

Silver and Copper mixed. Weight gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

REV.	OBV.
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> السلطان  الا عظم  علا الدولة </div>	فتح لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستظهر بالله
مسعود	د

Obverse Margin filled in with triangular points.

Reverse. No margin.

N.B.—The third line in the Reverse legend is only partially legible.

No. 35—(To follow No. CXXXVI., Old Series, Journal, p. 368).

Silver. Size 1½. Weight 5 gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

Obverse. The Kalimah, in three lines.

Reverse. السلطان الاعظم مسعود

No. 36—(To follow No. CXXXIX., Old Series, p. 369).

Copper. Size 3. Weight 40 gr. Unique.—*Col. T. Bush.* Plate, fig. 8.

Obverse. Central Area. The Seal of Solomon within a circle.

Margin illegible.

Reverse. Central Area as in obverse, slightly altered.

Margin. السلطان الاعظم ابوسعد مسعود

No. 37.

Copper. Size 4½. Weight 48 gr.—*Col. T. Bush.*

Rev. Square Area.

علا الدولة  
ابو سـعـد  
مـسـعـود

Obv. Square Area.

السلطان  
الاعظم  
ملك الاسلام

Obverse Margin. الامام المستظهر بالله \* \* \*

Reverse Margin. \* \* لا اله الا \* \*

There is a story told in that voluminous collection of Oriental tales, the *Jāmi'ul-Hikāyāt*, which contributes an apposite historicetto on the currencies of the Ghaznavis, and furnishes a traditionary comment on the depreciation of the monetary standard, so obviously borne out by the extant specimens of the coinage of the monarch under whom the evil is reported to have reached its climax. I am not able to trace the depreciation in equal progression from the mintages of Mahmūd to those of A'lā-ud-dowlah Mas'ūd, nor indeed would the circumstances deposed to necessitate the idea of any such regular and uniform action; but I can testify generally to the extreme debasement of the issues of this last-named prince, and less sweepingly condemn occasional examples of the mintages of his predecessors. I have not thought it necessary to give the Persian text of the anecdote in question; it may be sufficient to say, that the following free translation embodies all the real purport of the original, which varies considerably in the different MSS., and is more or less defective in all the copies<sup>1</sup> I have had an opportunity of consulting.

<sup>1</sup> 1st, A copy of Sir H. M. Elliot's, from which I have given the Persian text in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxi. p. 121.; 2nd, a MS. in my own possession,

*Translation.*

"It is related that when Yamín-ud-dowlah occupied the throne and the vigour of his Government extended over many countries, and the rigour of his administration reached idolaters and their temples; the cunning men of Hind exercised their ingenuity, and devised a scheme (of deception). First, they put forth a dirham of just standard and full (intrinsic) value; when, after some time, this coinage<sup>1</sup> obtained free circulation, merchants came from Muhammadan countries and bought it up, and carried it into Khorásán<sup>2</sup>. When the schemers saw that the currency was firmly established and readily received by all—then, by degrees, they debased the standard; the merchants (still) continued to trade in the silver, without being aware of the (existence or) extent of the depreciation. From all parts they brought gold and silver to Hindustán, and, in return, obtained<sup>3</sup> copper and brass; and in this way a large amount of the wealth of the Muhammadans was drawn to Hindustán. When the evil extended beyond bounds, and A'lá-ud-dowlah sat on the throne, he turned his attention towards its correction, and took counsel with his nobles<sup>4</sup>, as to the means whereby it was to be remedied. They all advised that the debased money should be called in, and the amount replaced by legitimate coin. A'lá-ud-dowlah accordingly ordered that they should issue millions of dirhams<sup>5</sup> from his treasury and take them to the mint, to be expended in the relief of 'the servants of the Lord' (the Moslems), so that his own good name might be diffused over all parts of the world<sup>6</sup>."

(without date), once in the library of Ranjít Sing; and, 3rd, an old large-paper copy, the property of H. T. Prinsep, Esq.

<sup>1</sup> جیتل is the word used in my MS. It does not, however, appear in either Sir H. M. Elliot's copy or that of Mr. H. T. Prinsep. The *Jital* or *Chital* is a measure of value of special currency in the Delhi series, at which capital our author wrote during the reign of Altamsh (A.H. 607–633). See remarks on "Jitals," in my "Supplementary Contributions to the Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindustán," printed at Delhi in 1851, p. 30, and Reprint in the London "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. xv. p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> The text in my copy of "Jámi' al Hikáyát" is:—

بارزكانان از دارالاسلام مي آمدند و انرا مي خريدند و بخراسان  
The passage is not so fully given in Mr. Prinsep's MS. مي بردند

<sup>3</sup> The exact words used are و مس و روي باز مي خريدند

<sup>4</sup> In my MS., "the merchants" are the authorities stated to have been consulted on this occasion.

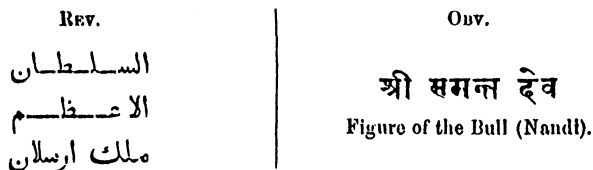
<sup>5</sup> An imaginary sum; the original expression is صدي بار هزار هزار

<sup>6</sup> I have already partially illustrated, from the statements of Indian authors,

## ARSLAN.

No. 38—(To follow No. CXL., Old Series, p. 369).

Silver and Copper. Weight 32 gr.—Colonel T. Bush.



the simple and easy process by which the Eastern Mint-masters coined money (Journal, ix. 281). The following account of the means employed for this end in India, almost to the present day, will give a more vivid idea of the facilities enjoyed by the evil disposed, under Native governments, for forgery and the production of debased coin :—

"March 22, 1848.—Pind Dadud Khan visited the Mint here, which is under the superintendence of Missor Rula Ram. Silver is collected in all directions in the shape of old rupees, bangles, and silver ornaments, which, after being refined, are converted into the new Lahore rupee. . . . The silver being obtained of sufficient purity to constitute the new rupees, which are *said to be pure silver*, it is cut into bars about the breadth of a rupee, and handed over to an artificer, who cuts these into the necessary weights to constitute the rupees. This being done, the rough bits of silver are heated to redness on hot charcoal, and when hot are beaten on an anvil with a round-headed hammer into the shape and size of the standard rupee. In this state they are handed over to a man who finishes them by impressing the necessary inscription, which is done on a *die* of the most simple description, being an anvil with a round and highly-tempered steel surface, on which the inscription is engraved in reverse. On this the rupee is placed, and on it a punch with a round and highly tempered steel face, on which the inscription to be impressed on the upper side of the rupee is carved. The punch being applied to the rupee, a smart blow from a heavy hammer is given by a man who stands in front of the one in charge of the die, and who holds the punch in his left hand, and a handful of *raw* rupees in his right, the lower die being firmly fixed in a strong case. In this way forty rupees were passed through the die, well engraved, in one minute; and the artificer said, that on an average he could engrave [strike] 1500 per hour."—Dr. Fleming's Diary of a Trip to Pind Dadud Khan and the Salt Range in the Punjab. Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. (1850) p. 667.

BAHRAM SHÁH.<sup>1</sup>

No. 39.—(To follow No. CXLVI., Old Series, Journal, vol. ix. p. 371.)

Silver. Size 1½. Weight 7 gr. (damaged coin).—*Masson (E. I. II.)*

Obverse. . . السلطان الاعظم ع

Reverse. السلطان الاعظم بهرامشاه ع

Ornamental Margins.

<sup>1</sup> I do not definitively assign the coin from which the subjoined legends are taken to Bahrá'm Sháh, for several reasons, without, however, having much doubt of its having issued from his mint. It will be seen that the legends are very imperfect. The first title of *الدولة* *يمين* is most crudely formed; the second, *أبو الفتح*, is not used on his other coins; and, finally, his name is only conjecturally deciphered.

As regards the obverse surface, the designation of the Khalif creates no difficulty, but the absence of the name of Sanjar, while suggesting a grave doubt as to the due attribution of this piece, in itself constitutes its interest in the question it gives rise to, as to whether it may not have been struck during a period when Bahrá'm had temporarily failed in his allegiance to that potentate.

No. 39 a.

Silver. Weight gr.—*Masson (E. I. II.)*

Rev.	Obv.
د ٢٨ ع	جلال
السلطان الاع	لا اله الا
يمين الدولة	محمد رسو
ابو الف	المقتفى لامر
بهرام	امير المؤمنين

Margins filled in with dots.

*General Table of Mint Cities and combined Dates deciphered on the  
Coins of the Ghaznavís.*

Kings.		Mint Cities.	Dates.
Alptagín	..	Anderábeh	.. A.H. 347, No. 1 <sup>1</sup> .
Bulkatagín	..	Ghazní	.. A.H. 359, No. 1, N.S.
		Balkh	.. A.H. 324, note, p. 143, N.S.
Subuktagín	..	Ferwán	.. A.H. 380, No. 2; 382, No. 3; 383, No. 4; 384, No. 5.
Mahmúd	..	Balkh	.. A.H. 411, No. 40; 412, No. 45; 421, No. 51.
		Ghazní	.. A.H. 395, No. 25, and No. 10, N.S.; 399, No. 27; 401, No. 36; 405, No. 54, and No. 16, N.S.; 406, Fræhn; 411, Nos. 43, 44; 414, No. 7a, N.S.; 415, No. 7, N.S.
		Hirát	.. A.H. 395, No. 14; 401, No. 15; 411, No. 16; 413, No. 17, and No. 6, N.S.; 414, No. 18.
		Nishápúr	.. A.H. 385, No. 8; 386, M. Soret (p. 379, Journal); 390, Nos. 9, 10; 399, No. 26, and No. 4, N.S.; 400, No. 11; 401, Nos. 12, 13; 403, No. 5, N.S.; 405, No. 8, N.S.; 407, No. 19; 409, No. 20; 413, Fræhn; 414, No. 41; 421, No. 9, N.S.
		Sejestán	.. A.H. ? No. 48 <sup>2</sup> .
		Wáwálín	.. A.H. ? No. 29.
		Bukhárá	.. A.H. 412, Fræhn.

<sup>1</sup> The simple numbers refer to the old series in the Journal for 1848; the numbers in this paper are distinguished by the addition of the letters 'N.S.' Simple dates where unaccompanied by mint identifications are omitted from this list—excepting only in certain instances, where even in default of the definite name of the locality, the typical peculiarities of the coin itself authorize its legitimate assignment to a given city.

<sup>2</sup> (Khalaf bin Ahmad, A.H. 355, No. 1, N.S.; 375, No. 3, N.S.)



Kings.		Mint Cities.	Dates.
Mahmúd	..	Karmíná ..	A.H. 389, Fræhu.
		Mahmúdsar ..	A.H. 412, No. 42, and Nos. 11, 12, N.S.; 419, Nos. 13, 14, N.S.
Muhammad	..	Wáwálín ..	A.H. 411, No. 17, N.S.
		Júzján ..	A.H. 414, No. 18, N.S.
Masaúd	..	Balkh ..	A.H. 428, No. 63.
		Ghazní ..	A.H. 423, Nos. 21 and 22, N.S.; 428, No. 23, N.S.
		Níshápúr ..	A.H. 422, No. 58; 431, No. 59.
		Wáwálín (?) ..	A.H. ? No. 64.
Modúd	..	Ghazní ..	A.H. 433, No. 77; 434, No. 82, and No. 27, N.S.; 435, No. 78.
		Láhór ..	A.H. ? No. 92.
Abd ul Rashíd .		Ghazní .	A.H. 440, No. 93; 441, No. 94; 442, No. 95.
		Láhór ..	A.H. ? No. 28, N.S.
Farukhzád	..	Ghazní ..	A.H. 450, No. 101.
Ibrahím	..	Láhór ..	A.H. ? No. 129.
Masaúd III.	..	(Ghazní)	A.H. 494, No. 134.

With a view to consistency, I have retained in the above Table the old arrangement of the mint-cities, the relative positions of which were determined, in the original classification of the numismatic series, without reference to geographical grouping, being made simply to follow the order in which they chanced to occur in the general sequence of the coins, while the subsequent additions from external sources were necessarily inserted in the summary recapitulation<sup>1</sup> with even less regard to their appropriate places in the list.

The following eleven localities up to that time deciphered were distributed as follows:—**A** Balkh, **B** Forwán, **C** Ghazní, **D** Hirát, **E** Láhór, **F** Níshápúr, **G** Sejistan, **H** Wáwálín, **I** Anderábah, **J** Bukhárá, **K** Karminia.

To these may now be added the dubious reading and unascertained site represented on the Hindí coins of Mahmúd (**L**), and the more positivo decipherment of Júzján (**M**).

I proceed to notice such new developments of the early geography of the first series as the labours of modern enquirers may have brought to light subsequently to the publication of my previous essay, concluding with a brief survey of the information bearing upon the province represented by the new mint-mark of Júzján.

<sup>1</sup> Journal, ix. p. 376.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY.

**B** *Ferwán*, as it is written, or *Parwán*, as it is indigenously pronounced.—In addition to the copious references by writers of various epochs embodied in the note at p. 297, vol. ix., J.R.A.S., it may be interesting to complete the more ancient notices of this town as traced by M. St. Martin, from the data afforded by Ptolemy.

“ Nous retrouvons ici Kapisa, et Kaboura (appelée aussi Ortospana) qui nous sont déjà connues. Parmi les autres localités énumérées, il en est encore un certain nombre que nous pouvons identifier d'une manière au moins très-probable, grâce aux détails que les récentes explorations Anglaises nous ont procurés sur la topographie de ce canton. *Hapáava*, au pied même du Paropanisus, et dans la partie la plus haute du pays vers le nord, est indubitablement Parouan, à la tête de la vallée de Pendjehir, non loin de la passe de Khévák, qui débouche au nord sur la vallée d'Andéráb. Au-dessous de Parouan, dans la même vallée, un lieu du nom de *Bazarak*, où il y a des vestiges d'antiquité, nous indique le site de Barzaura, *Bapzáva*. Nous retrouvons également *Bapóava* dans Parvan, lieu notable du même canton, situé dans le douab que forment les rivières de Pendjehir et de Ghórbend, et qui donne son nom à une des passes de l'Hindou-koh. Parwan, comme *Bazarak*, garde les traces d'un site ancien.” Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, Paris (1858) p. 67.

For later notices of this site, see also *Kánún-i-Masáúd* بروان اول كابل and Ibn Batoutah, Paris edit., vol. iii. p. 87.

**H** *Wáwálin*.—In my earlier paper I had assembled under one view a series of extracts illustrative of the nomenclature and true position of this mint. Though in default of any very definite orthography on the then available coins, added to the discrepancies to be detected in the method of expressing the name in the geographical MSS. of the period, I was compelled to leave the determination of the site a somewhat open question, and even to offer for consideration two alternative readings and attributions, which had other data to recommend them.

The writing on coin No. 17, N. S. now enables me to revert with more confidence to the identification first proposed, and in spite of still existing variations in the spelling of the name on the different pieces, to associate it with *وروالین*—the favourite orthography in the most authentic MSS.<sup>1</sup>—and which may be taken to represent a city of

<sup>1</sup> The Luknow Ashkál-ul-bilád has transformed this name into *ورواگیر* See Col. Anderson's paper, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, xxii. p. 152.

some importance, not far removed from the position of the modern Kundúz<sup>1</sup>, which, in the process of time and intermediate changes of site, may be assumed to have eventually replaced the older city as the district metropolis.

L *Mahmúdsar*.—The reading of the name of this mint as مکه دسر is so purely conjectural, that I refrain from speculating at any length upon its correctness, further than pausing a moment to justify the proposed termination, which, though unusual, is not by any means improbable; as instances occur of a somewhat similar combination in the earlier nomenclature of a town not very distantly removed from the possible site here indicated, where the capital of Karmán is defined in the old Pehlvi as ولامسر = کرمانسر. It is true that this form alternates with ولام = کرمان, and ولامسر = کرمانان, and ولامسر = کرمانفت (as it is dubiously figured), but I suppose the meaning of the three leading terms to be identical, as referring to the provincial capital, to the first of which the more definite addition of سر would scarcely be inappropriate. See Jour. R.A.S., xiii. 404, Pl. i.

M *Júzán*.—The mint which figures under the Arabic form of the name of جوزجان, indicates the then capital of the subdivision of the province of Khorásán, known locally as کوزکان or کوزکانان. The designation is familiar to us from the days of the early Arab conquest<sup>2</sup>, when

<sup>1</sup> See note upon Kundúz. M. St. Martin, *Mém. Analytique* (Hiouen Tshang), ii. p. 288. Major Cunningham identifies the O-li-ni of Hiuen Tshang with the Vulin of the Arab geographers (J.A.S.B., xvii. 54). M. St. Martin is not satisfied with the conclusiveness of this assignment (*Mém. Anal.*, p. 420).

<sup>2</sup> See Journal R. A. S., xii. p. 299. Tabarí here notices it in association with Mervarád and Táhlakán. It is indifferently written as کوزکان or کوزکانان. The government is also prominently mentioned by the same author so early as A.H. 31 (A.D. 651-2.) on A'bdullah bin A'mar's reconquest, when the new distribution of A'mar's lieutenancies on this occasion is detailed as follows:—

عبدالله قيس بن هشيمرا برنیشابور خليفه کرد و احنفرامرو  
تا بلخ و کوزکان و حنيف بن عبیدرا برهري و بادغيس تا حد  
شور و خراسان

Hiuen Tshang, who visited these countries at a still earlier period (Circa, A.D. 630.) refers to the province of Júzán; though the details and particulars of its then existing government furnished to his biographers have not been preserved to us, the following is M. St. Martin's note on the subject:—

“Pendant son séjour à Balkh, Hiouen Tshang vit arriver plusieurs personnes envoyées par les rois de Joui-mo-tho et de Hon-chi-kien, pour obtenir de lui qu'il

the dependency seems to have been held in higher consideration than it retained in after times. I now recognise its denomination in the Pehlvi form of  $\text{کشان} = \text{ووس}$ , which occurs on the coins of U'baidullah bin Zîád of the year A. H. 63<sup>1</sup>. The Arab geographers of proximate date to the Ghaznaví dynasty refer only irregularly to the locality, but from their statements we gather the names of the principal towns, which sufficiently determine the general position of the province. Of the leading cities the modern maps still display the representatives of Maimunah and Shibbergán, and the ancient positions of Tálukán and Fáriáb are sufficiently determined; the smaller urban subdivisions are more difficult to define. Albírúní's list embraces the following localities, to which I have appended the latitudes and longitudes as given, under the Arab system, in the text of his Kánún.<sup>2</sup>

1. اسلمح في ابحد  $(34^{\circ} 30' - 88^{\circ} 40')$ .
2. الطالقان  $(34^{\circ} 55' - 88^{\circ} 25')$ .
3. الفارياب  $(36^{\circ} 45' - 89^{\circ} 20')$ .
4. الميمنه وهو يبودان  $(36^{\circ} 5' - 89^{\circ} 50')$ .

vint à leur cour. Il se rendit, quoique à regret, à ces invitations honorables, et ce fut pour lui une occasion de recueillir sur ces pays des renseignements qu'il a consignés dans ses Mémoires (Hoeï-li les a supprimés). Jouï-mo-tho était un petit pays . . . situé dans la montagne, vers le sud-ouest de Balkh; Hou-chi-kien, état beaucoup plus important (500 li de l'est à l'ouest, 1000 li du sud au nord), était au sud-ouest de Jouï-mo-tho. . . .

"Hou-chi-kien nous paraît devoir se rapporter au district de Djouzdjân (nom que les Persans prononcent aussi Djouzkân), entre Balkh et le district de Mèrou-erroûd. On peut voir les éclaircissements instructifs que Silvestre de Sacy a donnés sur le nom et la situation de ce district dans son 'Mémoire sur deux provinces de la Perse orientale.' (Tiré des Mines d'Orient et reproduit dans les Annales des Voyages, 1813). Nous ne trouvons ni dans les auteurs Musulmans, ni dans les sources plus modernes, aucune indication qui nous puisse fournir la synonymie du nom de Jouï-mo-tho."—St. Martin, Mém. Analytique; Hiouen T'sang, ii. 209. See also Histoire de la vie de Hiouen T'sang (Stanislas Julien), Paris, 1853, p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> See Coin No. 14, p. 201, vol. xii. J. R. A. S.; and also mint No. 65, p. 404, and Plate I. No. u, Vol. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> These figures with all their imperfections should be reasonably valid *inter se*. I may note that Mervahrád is placed in  $34^{\circ} 30' - 86^{\circ} 40'$ ; Bámrán in  $34^{\circ} 55' - 92^{\circ} 50'$ ; and Balkh in  $36^{\circ} 41' - 91^{\circ} 5'$ .

<sup>3</sup> The Mírásid ul Ittilá has the following note on Jázján:—

جوزجانان و جوزجان هما واحد بعد الزای جیم و فی الاولى نونان  
اسم كورة و اسعة من كور بلخ بين مروالروڤ و بلخ و يقال لتصبتها  
اليهودية

5. السبورقان (36° 45' — 90° 5').  
 6. ادمر قصبه الجوزجان [Anbár ?] (34 5' — 90° 55').  
 7. سدكن (35° 45' — 92° 40').

The Ashkál-ul-bilád<sup>1</sup> and Edrisi omit Nos. 2 and 3, which are held to pertain to Khorásán, and add the following in detail :—

8. انحد رستاق  
 9. كندرم  
 10. سار (Edrisi شار)  
 11. فرسان (Edrisi فرسان)<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Anderson's translation of the Askál-ul-bilád supplies a few particulars regarding the several cities :—

"Of these Anbár is the largest, being more extensive than Mervál-rúd ; it is the residence of the Sultán, and situated among the hills . . . Sán is a place of no extent . . . Yahúdíá [No. 14.] is more extensive than Sán . . . Shubergan [No. 5.] is of greater extent than Kundaram [No. 9.] . . . Murshán [No. 11. ?] equals in size Yahúdíá. Sírokh (No. 7. ?) is a town, Andkhod (No. 8.), a small one, on the plain, having seven villages attached to it." The itinerary describes the relative distances as follows :—

From No. 5. to No. 4. (viâ No. 6.), distance not given.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| „ | „ | 8. Two marches to the N.                               |
| „ | „ | 9. Four marches, three to the river and one beyond it. |
| „ | „ | 6. One march S. (Edrisi, S.W.)                         |
| „ | „ | 3. Three marches (Ed., 54 miles).                      |
| „ | „ | 2. Six marches.  |

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxii. 152.

<sup>2</sup> See also Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 221.

## A P P E N D I X.

## GHORÍ DYNASTY.

IN introducing the following detached notices of the coins of the Ghorí and other dynasties, immediately succeeding the Ghaznavis, I have prepared for the better illustration of the extant examples of these more than ordinarily rare local currencies, a full list of the kings and sub-kings of the different branches of the Ghorí race, who ruled severally at Fíróz-kóh, Ghazní, and Bámián.

The series of these names and titles have been extracted from the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, a work I have previously had occasion to commend, but which, in this section of its history, is far less complete and lucid than I could have desired.<sup>1</sup> The lists of designations have been retained in their original Oriental form, with a view to the more ready identification of the corresponding nomenclature in the legends of the coins.

Notwithstanding that the statement of the family successions and the geographical distribution of the several kingdoms is somewhat complicated and involved, I have considered it best to follow the text of my authority, even in its defective integrity; endeavouring at the same time to connect and systemize, in some measure, the original arrangement—which adheres neither to the order of time nor to the division of kingdoms—by interpolating additional letter references to the names of the monarchs who often figure in two or more of my author's detached lists; adding to the whole a running commentary in the form of foot notes, corresponding to the numbers in the leading series of names.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Persian text of two MSS. of this work (No. 1952, E.I.II., and No. 12, R.A.S.), I have availed myself of M. Dorn's translation of this division of Mirchond's *Rausat-as-Safá*, appended to the history of the Afgháns (London, O. T. Fund, 1829), and M. de Frémery's *Histoire des Sultáns Ghourides*, from the Persian text of the same author, illustrated by valuable notes, which appeared in the *Paris Journal Asiatique* for 1843.

TABLE I.—FÍRÓZ-KÓH.

No. 1.	Names.	Titles.
	فولاد بن شنسب (Interval.)	
2.	بخي نپاران (Interval.)	
3.	امير سوري	
4.	ماحمد بن سوري	
5.	ابوعلي بن ماحمد	
6.	عباس بن شيش	
7.	ماحمد بن عباس	
8.	قطب الدين - حسن عباس	

*Notes to the Series of Kings.*

1. Contemporary of Abú Moslim, who was Governor of Khorásán from A.H. 129 to 137. (Hamza Isfahání, p. 172.)

2. This name is doubtful. MS. E.I.II. gives it indifferently *پنجي* and *پنجي*. Elliot quoting the *Jahán Nárá*, makes it *پنجي بن نهادان*. He seems to have been a contemporary of Harún Alrashíd's. (A.H. 170 to 193.)

3. Our author acknowledges difficulties about this portion of his history, and after adverting to the disadvantages of writing at Delhi, at a distance from local sources of information, he concludes —

بضرورت آنچه از تاريخ ناصري و تاريخ ابن هيضم تابی صاحب تاريخ ابو الحسن هيضم بن ماحمد تابی [ و بعض سماعي كه از مشايخ غور حاصل شده بود در قلم آمده از ناظران رجا غفومي باشد

4. A contemporary of Mahmúd of Ghazni, imprisoned and killed by the latter. *Rauzat-us-Safá*, De F. p. 17. Dorn's *Hist. Afgháns*, pp. 77, 78, and 81.

5. Under Mahmúd, displaced by No. 6. during Masúdí's reign. Mirkhond omits Nos. 5, 6, 7, and quotes authors who make Hasan, No. 8, succeed directly to Muhammad bin Súri, whose son he is reported to have been. Mirkhond properly points out the suspicion attaching to this statement. *Defrémercy*, p. 18. Dorn, 82.

6. Shísh was the son of Muhammad bin Súri, No. 4. A'bbás was eventually deposed by Ibrahim of Ghazni, and his son Muhammad appointed in his stead.

	Names.	Titles.
9.	حسين بن حسن	عزالدين
9. a E.	سوري بن حسين	سيف الدين

9. I have retained the orthography of these names as given by the author from whom I quote, though I am able to set him right in the true designation of the father of A'lá-ud-dín Jahánsoz. The attempted determination of this point, as well as the doubt existing as to A'lá-ud-dín's own name, has given rise to much debate and discussion among Oriental writers (Dorn quoting Mircchond, p. 83; De Frémery, citing various authorities, p. 26). The coin of Fakr-ud-dín Mas'úd (No. 51, *infra*) distinctly proves that the father of the seven brothers was called "Hasan," and not "Husain." Minháj bin Siráj quotes the following tabular form of the territorial possessions assigned to the seven sons of A'iz-ud-dín Hasan:—

	Name.	Rank.	Kingdom.
A 12.	شهاب الدين محمد	ملك	مادین و غور
B.	فخر الدين مسعود	"	بامیان و طخارستان
C 13.	شجاع الدين علي	"	حرماس و غور
D 14.	علا الدين حسين	سلطان	غور و غزنين و بامیان
E 9A.	سيف الدين سوري	"	غور و غزنين
F 11.	بها الدين سام	"	غور
G 10.	قطب الدين محمد	"	غور و فيروزكوه

Mircchond raises doubts as to the relative positions of Saif-ud-din Súri and Alá-ud-dín Jahánsoz (De F. 24, 27.; Dorn, 83, 84.) Minháj's expressions are definite enough as to the former's succession to the supremacy among the brothers, and Ibn Athír (Def. 24, note) is distinct as to his independent action from the time of his conquest of Ghazni, in Jumád ul Awal, A.H. 543, up to his defeat and destruction by Bahrán Sháh in Muharrim, A.H. 544.

9a. Saif-ud-din Súri (E.) succeeds his father A'iz-ud-dín Hasan (No. 9.), and distributes the local sovereignties among his brothers; Fíróz-kóh falls to the share of قطب الدين محمد, who, in Minháj's general list, is placed tenth in the order of succession, and a special series of accessions at Fíróz-kóh is hereupon introduced into the body of the text in the following order:—

- 10 G. قطب الدين محمد Is killed at Ghazni by Bahrán Sháh. T. N.; also De F. p. 18; and the same author (quoting Ibn Athír) p. 24. Dorn, p. 82.
- 11 F. بها الدين سام بن الحسن Accession at Fíróz-kóh, A.H. 544. T.N.
- 12 A. شهاب الدين محمد Succeeds to the kingdom of Mádin and a portion of Ghór.
- 13 C. شجاع الدين علي Obtains the kingdom of حرماس and part of Ghór.



	Names.	Titles.
14 D.	حسین جهانسوز بن حسین	علا الدین -
15. Interregnum.	حسین ماکمدمادیني	ناصر الدین -
16.	ماکمد بن حسین جهانسوز	سیف الدین -
17.	ماکمد بن سام	غیاث الدین -
(Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm,—see p. 194.)		
18. (Son of No. 13.)	ماکمد بن ملک شجاع الدین علي	علا الدین -
19. (Son of No. 17.)	ماکمد بن غیاث الدین	غیاث الدین -
20.	سام بن ماکمد	بها الدین -
21. (Son of No. 14.)	اتسز بن علا الدین	علا الدین -
22. (No. 18. Reaccession.)	ماکمد	علا الدین -

14 D. Alâ-ud-dîn's destructive expedition against Ghazni is preferably dated in A.H. 550. I. A., 106; Dorn, 80; De Guignes, ii. 184. Other authors assign this event to the year 547. De F., p. 25. His death took place in Rabi'ul-Akhir A.H. 556, I. A., 189; De F., 32; Dorn, 86.

15. Interregnum while A'lâ-ud-dîn is with Sanjar.

16. Succeeds his father A'lâ-ud-dîn Jahânsûz,—a short reign of little more than one year. He is killed in Rajab A.H. 553, I. A. See also Lubb ul Tâwârîkh and Jahân-ârf, quoted by Elliot, Historians of India.

17. Takes Ghazni the Ghuzz (الغز) in A.H. 569; captures Hirât in 571; dies on 7th of Jumâd-ul-Awal, A.H. 599; Tabakât Nasirî also, I. A. p. 117, Jahân-ârf, &c. Minhâj-us-sirâj states that he reigned 43 years, but this seems to be two years too much, unless his accession is dated from A'lâ-ud-dîn Jahânsûz's death, and before he himself adopted the style and title of Sultân, in illustration of which see Coin No. 1, Supplement, O. S., Jour., p. 377. (Abûl fidâ, iii. 523.)

18. On Ghîâs-ud-dîn's death, his brother Muiz-ud-dîn distributes the local governments as follows:—

1. Firôz-kôh and Ghôr to A'lâ-ud-dîn, No. 18.

2. Bust, Furrâh, and Isfarâr to Mahmûd bin Ghîâs-ud-dîn.

3. Hirât to Nâsir-ud-dîn Ghâzi.

This prince (No. 18), who had previously been called Zîâ-ud-dîn, was entitled Alâ-ud-dîn on his accession; after reigning four years he was displaced by Mahmûd.

19. Killed 7th Safar, A.H. 607, T. N. and R. S.

20. Reigned about three months. Firôz-kôh is stated to have been taken by No. 21, in Jumâd-ul-awal, A.H. 607.

22. After a second reign of little more than one year, finally surrenders Ghôr to the Khwârizmîs, in A.H. 612.

TABLE II.—GHAZNI PROPER.

	Names.		Titles.
I. R.	سوري	—	سيف الدين
I. D.	جهانسوز	—	(علا الدين
II.	محمّد بن سام	—	معز الدين
III.	بن بهالدين الباميانى	—	علا الدين
IV.	يلدز	—	تاج الدين

I. R. Takes Ghazni from Bahram Shāh in the fifth month of A.H. 543, and holds it until its recapture by the latter, in Muharrim, A.H. 544, on which occasion he is put to death by Bahram.

I. D. A'la-ud-din Jehānsōz captures and pillages Ghazni in A.H. 550, but does not subsequently occupy or retain the territory.

II. Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam is inducted into the government of this kingdom by his brother Ghāṣ-ud-din (No. 17. of the Ghorī line), on its conquest in A.H. 569, from whence his expeditions into India commence; in A.H. 571, against Multān; in 572, against Uch and Nahrwāla, where, in A.H. 575, he suffers a defeat. The next conquest is Pershwar, and two seasons are devoted to operations against Lāhōr. In A.H. 577 Khusrū Malik makes terms; A.H. 578 witnesses Muiz-ud-din's expedition against Daibal; and Lāhōr is occupied by his forces, who are, however, attacked by Khusrū Malik; and finally, in A.H. 582, Khusrū surrenders.

Muiz-ud-din was killed on the 3rd of Shabān A.H. 602.

III. Alā-ud-din, the son of Bahā-ud-din of the Bāmīān line, obtained temporary possession of Ghazni shortly after the death of Muiz-ud-din. After various alterations of fortune in his repeated contests with Tāj-ud-din Ilduz, he was finally dispossessed by the latter in A.H. 603.

IV. Tāj-ud-din Ilduz was the slave, and subsequently the trusted general of Muiz-ud-din. He seems to have been invested at an early period with the charge of the important frontier position of Karmān, with which was at times associated the governorship of the metropolis itself. These posts he held, with not unvaried fidelity, till the death of his sovereign, when his own power, and the weakness of the divided sections of the regal line, enabled him to advance pretensions which ended in his ejecting the Bāmīān branch of the Ghorīs from Ghazni, and eventually obtaining a full recognition of his own kingship from Ghāṣ-ud-din Mahmūd, who had succeeded to the family honours at Firōz-kōh. Ghazni was taken by Alā-ud-din Muhammad Khwārizmī in A.H. 612.

The two coins which head the present list are remarkable (independent of the unusual size and weight of No. 39), in their being manifestly posthumous medals of the great conqueror, whose name they bear, struck most probably by his ancient servitor and latterly

trusted general, who, shortly after his master's decease, on two occasions, expelled a scion of the royal house from the imperial metropolis. The anomalous position in which Ilduz found himself at this juncture, may well explain his motive for resorting to a coinage of this description, in preference to continuing the current style avowing himself a slave<sup>1</sup>, committing himself prematurely by an issue in his own independent name, or compromising his future freedom of action by the definite recognition of a living superior whom he designed to supersede.

Ilduz, it must be remembered, was still virtually a slave, as such professing allegiance to his late sovereign's nephew and heir, Ghíás-ud-dín Mahmúd, but taking advantage of this pretended vassalage to wage war against the Bámián branch of the Ghori family, who contested perseveringly the possession of Ghazní. The time had not yet come when he could safely throw off the mask, and it was not until the final defeat of the sons of Bahá-ud-dín in A.H. 603<sup>2</sup>, that he at length determined upon the overt act of causing his own name to be recited in the public prayers<sup>3</sup>, a proceeding which Mahmúd was at the moment so little able to resent, that he shortly afterwards conceded the desired manumission, and with it the insignia of royalty, conveying the patent of Táj-ud-dín's right to the kingdom of Ghazní.

<sup>1</sup> See Nos. 5 and 7, Old Series; also No. 42, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Athír, among the events of A.H. 602, relates that when Ilduz got possession of Ghazní from Alá-ud-dín, he made a display of obedience to Ghíás-ud-dín, except that he did not order the Khutbah to be read in his name, or in any one else's; but he had the Khutbah read for the Khalif, and prayed for mercy on Shaháb-ud-dín (i.e. Muiz-ud-dín) the Martyr—p. 145.

On the subsequent occasion of the capture of Ghazní from Alá-ud-dín, in A.H. 603, Ghíás-ud-dín is stated to have written to Ilduz to claim to have the Khutbah read in his name; on a repetition of this demand, Ilduz directed the Khatib to read the Khutbah in his *own* name, after the prayer for mercy on Shaháb-ud-dín, p. 163.

Mfnháj-us-Siráj tells us that Muhammad bin Sâm's name was recited in the public prayers in the mosques at Delhi even unto the time when he himself wrote.

<sup>3</sup> No. 6, Old Series, bearing the inscription reproduced below, possibly illustrates the earliest phase of Táj-ud-dín's independent coinage, wherein he alludes to his martyred lord, and styles himself "the great King, Sultán of the East," &c. I am bound, however, to add, that a doubt as to the exact period of the mintage of this piece is suggested by the imperfectly-preserved foot-lines of the date, which would best answer to an original die-definition of A.H. 612.

Obverse Area— السلطان الشهيد محمد بن سام

Reverse—

الملك المعظم سلطان الشرق تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

Margin— هذابلد غز \* \* شهور سنة

## II. MU'IZ-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD BIN SĀM.

No. 39.

Gold. Weight 320 gr. Size 10. Ghazni. A.H. 603. Unique.—*My Cabinet*.

Rev. Square Area.	Obv. Square Area.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
معز الدنياو	ماحمد رسول الله
الدين ابو المظفر	الناصر لدين الله
ماحمد بن سام	امير المؤمنين

Obverse Margin. In four compartments—

هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله

Reverse Margin. In compartments—

ضرب هذا الدينار ببلدة غزنة في شهر سنة ثلث وست مائة

No. 40.

Gold. Weight 96 gr. Size 7. Ghazni. A.H. 603.—*My Cabinet*.

Similar types and legends to No. 39.

No. 41.

Lead. Weight 46 gr. Size 3.—*Lady Sale's Collection*.<sup>1</sup>

(Legends engraved in five lines and admirably executed.)

Obverse Area. Tho Kalimah.

Margin. في شهر \* \* خمس مائة

Reverse surface—

عدل السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ماحمد بن سام

<sup>1</sup> Lady Sale's valuable collection, chiefly formed in Afghanistan, at a considerable outlay, has, I regret to say, been plundered and dispersed during the late disturbances in India. See Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, "Coin Collections lost during the late Rebellion," by G. H. Freeling, Esq., B.C.S., No. ii. of 1858, p. 169.

## IV. TAJ-UD-DÍN ILDUZ.

No. 42—(A variant of No. 7, Old Series, Journal, ix. p. 380).

Silver. Weight 90 gr.<sup>1</sup> Ghazni, A.H. 6\*\*.

Obverse Square Area—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

Obverse Margin—

\* ——— ببلدة عزنة في شهر سنة ——— و ستمائة

Reverse Area—

السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Reverse Margin—

[عبد و مولا تاج الد] نيا و الدين يلدز السلطاني

---

<sup>1</sup> Including a small suspending loop.

## XIX. MAHMÚD BIN MUHAMMED.

The ordinary copper coins of this prince, with the squarely-formed Arabic legends, and the Horseman in Toghra reverse, are not uncommon;<sup>1</sup> the following types are, however, rare, and hitherto unpublished:—

No. 43.

Silver and Copper mixed. Size 2½,—*Lady Sale's Collection.*

Obverse. — السلطان الاعظم —  
الدنيا والدين — —

Reverse. A rudely executed figure of an Elephant. Margin filled in with dots.

---

No. 44.

A similar Coin.—*Lady Sale's Collection.*

Obverse. فتح محمود — — — —  
بن محمود

---

No. 45.

Silver and Copper. Size 3. Talakán.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Obverse. — طالقان السلطان المعظم ابو —  
محمود بن —

Reverse. The usual type of the Ghori horseman.

---

<sup>1</sup> See coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli (London, 1847), p. 11. These pieces bear a legend of

السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمود بن سام

TABLE III.—BÁMÍÁN LINE.

1. B. (No 9. فخر الدين مسعود  
(بن عزالدین))
2. شمس الدين ما محمد بن مسعود
3. بهاالدين سام بن ما محمد
4. (Son of No 3.) جلال الدين علي  
(علا الدين مسعود)  
 Son of No 2.  
 Interregnum while No. 4 is in captivity at Ghazni.)
4. Reaccession of Jalál-ud-dín A'lí.

*Notes.*

No. 1. is stated to have been established in the kingdom of Bámíán by A'lí-ud-dín Jehánsóz after the conquest of Ghazni. On the first rise of Ghíás-ud-dín, Fakr-ud-dín aids him under the condition that all conquests in Khorásán should pertain to the former, while the acquisitions in Ghór should fall to his own share. The ultimate extent of his dominions is thus summed up by Mímháj-us-Siráj:—

ممالك جبال سقتال [؟ سقنان] و طخارستان تا  
 در بوریلور و اطراف تركستان تا حد سرخس و بدخشان همه در  
 ضبط آمد

— Fakr-ud-dín seems to have enjoyed a long reign; the date of his death, however, is not mentioned.

2. Assists the Ghóris against Sultán Sháh Khwárizmí at Rúdbár, and is elevated to the rank of Sultán on the occasion, and endowed with the appropriate symbol of a black and white flag. He further extended the boundaries of the kingdom, including the city of Baluch. &c. Neither the length of his reign nor the period of his decease are mentioned, though the date of the latter may be inferred from the history of his successor.

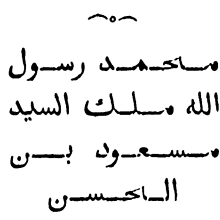
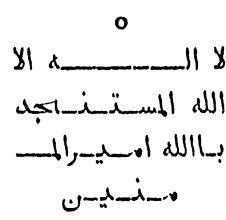
3. Mirkhond affirms that this prince reigned fourteen years. The *Tabakát-i-Násiri* (in both MS. copies) gives the total as *four* years. The former is probably the more correct period. (See Ibn Athír, under A.H. 594, 595, &c.) He died in A.H. 602.

4. Reigned in all seven years. Captured and killed by Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh.

## I. B. FAKHR-UD-DÍN MASAUD OF BÁMÍÁN.

No. 46.

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 54 gr. Unpublished.—*Masson, E.I.H.*

Rev.	Obv.
<p>  </p>	<p>  </p>

Margins filled in with dots, like the coins of Khusrá Sháh (Nos. 150-152, O. S.)

No. 47.

There is a second coin (size 5, weight 66 gr.) in the E. I. H. Collection, which satisfactorily confirms the above transliteration.

No. 48.

Silver, alloyed with lead. Size 2½. Weight 47 gr. Ferwán—*Masson.*

Obverse. عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود

Reverse. An elephant, to the left; above which is the name of the mint, فروان Ferwán.

No. 49—(No. 23, Old Series, Journal, p. 386).

Silver and Copper. Weight 44 gr. (Three specimens in the Masson collection.)

Obverse. A rudely-formed figure of a Bull, facing to the left, apparently in a rising posture, with the tail erect; above the back of the animal, expressed in *Persian* letters, is the mint mark of فروان Ferwán.

Reverse. Area (in ill-formed *Kufic* characters)—

عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود  
 Margin. Illegible.



## 3. BAHÁ-UD-DÍN SÁM.

As the money of these Bámián princes is exceedingly rare, I reproduce, for continuity sake, an abstract of the legends of Bahá-ud-dín's coins previously described in 1847.

No. 50.

Silver. Weight 52 gr.

Obverse. The Kallmah, in three lines; at the foot—{ الناصر لدين الله

Reverse.

السلطان الا عظم بهالد نيا و الدين سام بن محمد

Margins. Illegible.

No. 51.

Silver. Weight 12 gr.

Obverse. As above, omitting the Khalif's name.

Reverse. Words as above, in four lines, but differently distributed.

Margins. Plain and unengraved.

No. 52.

Silver and Copper. Weight 52 gr.

Obverse. Rude figure of a Horseman, facing to the right, holding a lance at the charge. Dotted margin.

Reverse. As in No. 50, with dotted margin.

No. 53 (Unattributed).

Silver and Copper. Weight 50 gr. Unique.—*Colonel T. Bush.* Plate, fig. 9.

Obverse. Kufic legend in three lines, unintelligible.

Reverse. Rude figure of a recumbent bull, above which are traces of the word فراوان

Margin filled in with a seemingly unmeaning repetition of the Sanskrit letters वय

A'LA-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD, BIN TAKASH, KHUÁRZIM  
SHÁH (596 to 617 A.H.)

No. 54.

Gold. Weight 65 gr. Size 6. Badakhshán. Novelty.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

REV.	OBV.
<p>بدخشا السلطان الاعظم علا الدنياو الدين ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان ن ن ن</p>	<p>لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين</p>

Margins illegible.

The gold coins of this prince are sufficiently common, and, as I have previously remarked, have been already described by Fräuhn<sup>1</sup> and Wilson.<sup>2</sup> I have carefully examined the ample collection in the museum of the East India House with a view to discover any new dates and places of mintage, but the result of my scrutiny produces only the subjoined disproportionate list.

As I do not reproduce the legends on the areas it may be needful to intimate that they ordinarily add the words *امير المومنين* at the foot of the obverse area above transcribed, while the reverse remains constant, as in Colonel Bush's coin now quoted, with the single exception of the *بدخشان* which constitutes its essential novelty. The obverse margin is filled in with the usual passage of the Korán, Surah ix. 33 and lxi. 9, while the reverse exhibits the legend—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببلده غزنة في شهر سنة ثلاث عشرة وستمائة

Ghazni, A.H. 613.

Other specimens of the same mint date respectively 614, 616, and 617 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> Recensio, pp. 146. 595.

<sup>2</sup> *Ariana Antiqua*. Pl. xx. fig. 28, p. 437. See also the article of M. Soret on the *Sultáns de Kharezm*, in the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* (Bruxelles 1854), tome iv., p. 591.

No. 55.

In lately commenting on the Khwárizmí coins in Colonel Stacy's collection,<sup>1</sup> I observed—

"I confine my notice to a single coin, which is remarkable as bearing the name of a new mint, *Zamindáwar*. The piece is of mixed silver and copper, in weight 48 grains. The Obverse and Reverse read through; but, singular to say, the marginal legends are completed thus—

Reverse. ابو الفتح محمد

Obverso. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

The inscription in the reverse circular area commences the word زمين and the obverse centre gives the completion of the name "زمين داور — داور"

No. 56.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April, 1837 (vol. vi. p. 293, Pl. xiv.), there first appeared a notice, by James Prinsep, of a coin similar to that now about to be described, which was supposed, among its other peculiarities, to bear on its obverse a Pehlvi legend<sup>2</sup>, while it was seen to be connected in a near degree with the conventional "Bull and Horseman" currencies of the earlier dynasties, now definitively traced to have originated with the

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. Bengal, xxi. p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's remarks are as follows :—"Fig. 2, a copper coin, also unique : it escaped my detection among a number of old Bukhára Musalmán coins, or it should have appeared along with the Bull and Horseman, or Rájput series, of December, 1835. It seems to link this curious outline group with the full-faced Sassanians of Vasudeva, &c. ; for on the border of the obverse are Pehlvi letters. The features of the supposed face are barely admissible as such, even to the lowest estimate of native art. The horse on the reverse is more palpable, but it seems more like a *tughrá*, or flourish of Persian letters, than ever. It is also reversed in position, and has no Nágari legend."

"The coins of this genus, although we have found them connected with Delhi sovereigns and Málwa rásas at one end of the series, evidently reach at the other to the Bráhmical rulers of the Punjáb, and probably Kábul. They are procured much more abundantly at the latter place (and on the site of Taxila, according to M. Court) than in any part of India. Some of them exhibit on their reverse the style of Arabic now known to belong to the Ghaznaví Sultáns, while others agree rather with the Ghori type, and contain known names of that dynasty."

Brahmans of Kábul.<sup>1</sup> On a late occasion, while conducting through the press a reprint of James Prinsep's "Numismatic Essays," I avoided expressing any decided opinion as to the language or character of the legend in question, at the same time I was able to satisfy myself that the reverse Toghrá, which reproduces in its reticulated flourishes the outline of the quondam Kábul cavalier, covertly emblemized the profession of faith of the Moslems, who had succeeded to the monarchies and coin devices of the more ancient Hindú race.<sup>2</sup>

The nearly identical piece engraved as No. 10. of the *Plato* which illustrates the present article, conclusively determines that the legends on the surfaces of this class of money are no where expressed in any

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Asiatique*, September, 1844: *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, par M. Reinaud; also the letter addressed to M. Reinaud by M. A. de Longperier, on this subject, annexed to the translation of the former.

<sup>2</sup> My own comments on this piece were to the effect:—"In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor and language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity.

"That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *kalimah* of **الله رسول محمد**, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic **محمد** is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt-end of the spear; portions of the **رسول** may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed; and, lastly, the **الله** may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final **له**, which appears over the horse's hind quarters.

"The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with Sámání mint-masters;\* and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilization of the Bukhárá empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the south. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznaví (Láhór) currency, with the recumbent bull in Tughrá on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse.† In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindú device may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs, **محمد**"

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\* *Frehm's Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum: Emiri Samanidae. Petropoli, 1826.*

+ *Id. gr.*, see *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, ix. Pl. iii. fig. 153, O.S.

thing but Arabic letters. The word *عدل*, in the upper division of the centre of the very Chinese-looking obverse device, is palpable in its modernised Kufic form; while on the lower margin, in a similar style of character, may be doubtfully traced the footlines of the name of Muhammad, which, in addition to its typical identities, sufficiently associates the coin with the A'lá-ud-dín, Muhammad of the present list, to whom, I think, it may safely be assigned.

No. 57—(To precede No. 10, Supplement, O. S., Journal, p. 381.)

Silver (alloyed with lead?). Size 2½. Weight 40 gr. *Hirát.*—*My Cabinet.*

Obverse. *السلطان الاعظم محمد بن السلطان*  
Margin dotted.

Reverse. The Ghori horseman, with both arms upraised. Above the horse's hindquarters the name of *هراة*

No. 58—(To follow No. 16, O. S., Journal, p. 383.)

Silver and Copper. Size 3. Karmán.

Obverse. The usual short legend—

*السلطان الاعظم ابو الفتح محمد بن سلطان*

Reverse.<sup>1</sup> A modified design of the Bull of Siva, ordinarily peculiar to the coins of Ilduz (No. 9, O. S., p. 380), with the word *كرمان*<sup>2</sup> inscribed on its ornamental housings. Sanskrit inscription above the Bull, imperfect *रमन्*

<sup>1</sup> Owing to a defect in my original note upon the subject, I am unable to say positively whether this particular reverse belongs to Ilduz or Muhammad bin Takash. However, as the sole interest of the piece consists in its geographical record, I have associated it with the coins of the like locality bearing the name of the latter monarch.

<sup>2</sup> This name of Karmán does not refer to the extensive province of that designation, but to a city noticed in Ibn Athir as situated between Ghazni and Láhór. I. A., ii. p. 140. *كرمان مدينة بين غزنة و لهاور* elsewhere (i. p. 108) he adds *وسكانها قوم يقال لهم ابغان*. See also Geographical Index, *infra*.

## No. 59.

A second similar coin has the word Karmán introduced beneath the Bull.

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## No. 60.

Silver and Copper. Size 3.

Similar to Coin No. 58, but the word عدل replaces the كرمán on the Bull's side.

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## No. 61.

Coin similar to No. 58, but with a change in the name on the housings of the Bull, which here reads پشور (Pesháwar)

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## No. 62.

Copper. Size 4½. Shibberkán.--Colonel T. Bush.

Obverse Circular Area—

لا اله الا الله    ما محمد رسول [الله]    النا صر [لدين] الله

Margin filled in with dots.

Reverse Centre. سفورقان

Margin. Int. السلطان الاعظم ما محمد بن السلطان

„ Ext. Filled in with dots.

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*List of Ghorí and other Mints.*

1. *Badakhshán*.  
Alá-ud-dín Muhammad bin Takash .. No 54, N.S.
2. *Bámián*. Lat. 34° 50', Long. 67° 48'.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 12, O.S.  
Fukhr-ud-dín Mas'úd .. .. . No. 46, N.S.
3. *B. Ferwán*. Lat. 35° 9', Long. 69° 16'.  
Fukhr-ud-dín .. .. . Nos. 48, 49, N.S.  
(?) .. .. . No. 53.
4. *C. Ghazni*. Lat. 33° 34', Long. 68° 18'.  
Muiz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám. .. Nos. 39, 40, N.S.  
Táj-ud-dín Ilduz .. .. . No. 6, O.S., and  
No. 42, N.S.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . under No. 54, N.S.
5. *D. Hirát*. Lat. 34° 22', Long. 62° 9'.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 57, N.S.
6. *Karmán*. About Lat. 33° 40', Long. 70° 20'.  
Táj-ud-dín Ilduz .. .. . No. 9, O.S.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . Nos. 58, 59, N.S.
7. *Pesháwar*. Lat. 33° 59', Long. 71° 40'.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 61, N.S.

No. 1. The town of Badakhshán of this period is placed, by the early Arab geographers, at seven days' journey, to the northward of east, beyond Tálakán (the Talikhán of the modern maps, lat. 36° 46', long. 69° 30'). Müller Liber Climates, *Istakhri*, p. 112. Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 230. See also Wood's "Oxus," p. 251.

No. 6. Karmán seems to have been a place of considerable importance in these days, in virtue of its position on the line of communication between Ghazni and the Indus, on the road connecting that city with the modern site of Kohát and Pesháwar, by the Bungush route and the Kurm river. A village of the name still exists in the locality probably occupied by the early seat of government. See *ante*, note on Coin No. 58. Also Yákút's *Mushtarik*, *in voce*. Elphinstone's *Cabool*, i. 420; ii. 421. H. T. Prinsep, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xi. 553. Ferishtah, Persian text, lithographed at Bombay, p. 110; Brigg's translation of ditto, i. 200, 201, &c. Price's *Muhamadan Hist.*, ii. 309. Elliot, *Historians*, p. 23.

No. 7. The name of this city is variously written برساوور - فرساوور and برشور Reinaud, *l'Inde*, 247. Ferishtah, Bombay lithog. text, p. 98.

8. *Shubbergán*. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 40'$ , Long.  $65^{\circ} 30'$ .  
     Alá-ud-dín                   ..           ..           .. No. 62, N.S.
9. *Tálakán*.  
     Mahmúd bin Muhammad   ..           .. No. 45, N.S.
10. *Zamindáwar*.  
     Alá-ud-dín                   ..           .. No. 55, N.S.

No. 8. *Shubbergán* is described by Burnes (Cabool, p. 227), as "a very ancient place, being supposed to date from the days of the Kaffirs (Greeks), and is still the strongest fort in these parts; the ark or citadel is built of brick and mortar, and surrounded by other walls of mud." See also *ante*, 108; Marco Polo, edit. 1818, p. 121, 123; and Gladwin's *Ayín-i-Akbarí*, &c.

No. 9. This is the *Tálakán* in *Juzján*, which must not be confounded with the city of the same or nearly similar name in *Tokháristán*, situated to the eastward of *Kundúz*. See *ante*, p. 108. The second city is discriminated in many of the early geographical authorities, by the independent orthography of الطابقان *Kánún*. *Ashkál ul bilád*, map, p. 152. Ouseley, 230. *Mirásid ul Ittilá*, *in voce*.

No. 10. Elphinstone defines the boundaries of the ancient *Bilád-al-dáwar*, under its more modern name, in the following passage:—"Still further up the river [than *Girishk*] on its right bank, lies the rich country of *Zameendawir*, which has the *Paropamisian* mountains on the north, and some hills connected with that range are found within its limits. This fine country extends for forty or fifty miles to the west of the *Helmund*." *Elph.*, *Cabool*, 4to edit., p. 122. *Lieut. Macartney's* map, which illustrates the work, places the province in about  $32^{\circ} 33' N.$ ,  $64^{\circ} 65' E.$  *Albírání*, under his *Aráb* system, gives the position of بل قصبه ارض الداور [Tall] as  $38^{\circ} 30'$ ,  $90^{\circ} 10'$ . *MS.*, *Kánún*. See also *Müller's Liber Climatium*, Table xvii. No. 54, p. 104. *Reinoud*, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 173.





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